



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Daily Report

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SADC Holds Consultative Conference in Harare

MB2901090893 Gaborone Radio Botswana Network in English 0510 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Southern African Development Community [SADC] leaders have been asked to take bold steps to face the numerous problems facing the region. The call came from the chairman of the SADC Council of Ministers, the vice president, Mr. Festus Mogae, at the opening of the SADC annual consultative conference in Harare, Zimbabwe, yesterday.

He cited these problems as national calamities, political conflict, economic and social decline, and the threat of marginalization resulting from the international reorganization of production and trade. However, Mr. Mogae said prospects for progress look good on account of fundamental and profound changes taking place in the SADC region. This, he said, demanded strong leadership to help fight problems ahead.

The meeting was further told that the world economic recession and the crippling drought in the region last year reversed the positive economic performance of SADC member states for the last three years. Mr. Mogae said the competition for assistance by other parts of the world had also dimmed the prospect for increased aid to developing countries, including SADC member states. He said this was unfortunate as it came at a time when many SADC states were implementing economic adjustment programs which require international support.

Mr. Mogae also talked about relations between SADC and the Preferential Trade Area, PTA. He said SADC was in support of PTA aims and objectives, and was ready to work with it as a sister organization. He said SADC would soon undertake a study aimed at harmonizing the activities of the two organizations, rather than merging them.

Executive Secretary Comments

MB2901200693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1812 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Harare Jan 29 SAPA—The Southern African Development Community [SADC] on Friday [29 January] pledged their commitment to the implementation of an ambitious plan to merge their economies in a sub-continental common market.

A communique was issued by the ten-nation body at the end of a two-day summit in Harare, where officials of the southern African countries annually confer with representatives of donor countries for finance for aid projects in the region.

It said members had "stressed the need for realism and clear prioritisation of the programmes and activities of integration" of their economies.

But they also received a diplomatically worded, but sharp rebuke, from a senior American official who said

the organisation would have to undergo a major transformation for it to achieve its aims.

Ted Morse, southern Africa director of the United States Agency for International Development (AID), said in a statement to the assembly there was need for "a corporate, cultural change within the SADC itself".

"I humbly suggest that these are not the management values that have driven SADC's organisation and management for the first 15 years of its existence. The new task requires new management institutions and management values of directness, openness and substance," he said.

The body has come under harsh criticism for lack of organisation, lethargy and confusion in carrying out its task of drawing up projects for funding by donors, who regularly express their frustration in dealing with the SADC which is seen as becoming "increasingly bureaucratically encumbered".

In Windhoek in August last year, SADC leaders signed a treaty committing it to a "framework and strategy for developing the community", a document that sets out in detail the areas for integration of the member states.

SADC Executive Secretary Simba Makoni said he welcomed Mr. Morse's remarks, and agreed that the task set out in the Windhoek document was "very ambitious". But he asserted that the organisation was "not intimidated" by the task it had set itself.

Mr. Makoni also said the SADC was "as near or as far from inviting South Africa to join the organisation as South Africa is as near or far from having a democratic dispensation".

Only when a democratic system that was answerable to the South African people was in place, would the SADC consider inviting it as a member.

He would not react to President F. W. de Klerk's announcement on Friday on the establishment of an interim government, beyond saying that Mr. de Klerk "is getting into the habit of making important announcements in the late afternoon at the end of SADC conferences" so that members had no time to digest and respond to them.

"He has done it for the fourth consecutive year. He doesn't give us here any opportunity to respond," Mr. Makoni said.

EC President Cites Defense Spending

MB3001072093 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] Southern African leaders have been warned by Western donors that foreign donations could be jeopardized if needless arms purchases continue. The Danish development minister, Mrs. Helle Degn, told the 10-nation Southern African Development Community, SADC, in Harare that defense spending in many African

states far exceeded expenditure on health, housing, and education. Zimbabwe was singled out as a country engaged in excessive arms spending.

Mrs. Den, whose country holds the Presidency of the European Community, urged the leaders of Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Swaziland, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, Tanzania, and Zambia to learn about regional development from the EC. Donor countries told delegates that the end of the cold war had also ended the race for influence in Africa, and that South Africa should be allowed into the community because of its political reforms.

Meanwhile, members of the development community have pledged their commitment to a plan to merge their economies in a subcontinental common market. The community also said that it would consider membership of South Africa once a government of national unity was in place.

Community Calls on Private Sector

MB0102182993 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1100 GMT 1 Feb 93

[From the "Channel Africa Report" program]

[Text] The Southern African Development Community [SADC] has conceded that regional integration cannot be achieved by government alone and has called on the private sector and nongovernmental organizations to become fully involved. This is one of the strongest messages coming out of the annual consultative conference in Harare, where international donors expressed their views on the progress of the community. Executive Secretary of SADC Simba Makoni speaks to Jennifer Wilson:

[Begin recording] [Makoni] We actually envisage that at least as much of the integration activities, preferably for us, more of the integration activities, ought to take place outside the formal governmental structures than inside the governmental structures, because if we subject them to the governmental structures we would tend to constrain and inhibit effective and speedy action.

[Wilson] Who is going to coordinate all of this?

[Makoni] Unfortunately, for the time being the Secretariat of SADC has been designated the overall manager of this whole process, so it will be decided (?at that level).

[Wilson] And there's been a call at this conference for that management and that coordination to be increased.

[Makoni] It has indeed, especially from some of our cooperating partners but also from the SADC chairman, underlying that we will be reviewing our structures or organizational institutions in order to enable ourselves, endow ourselves with the capacity to do this very difficult thing we have committed ourselves to. [end recording]

OAU Chairman Seeks Political Dialogue in Zaire

AB0102204593 Paris AFP in English 2000 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Dakar, Feb 1 (AFP)—Senegalese President Abdou Diouf, current chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), issued an "urgent appeal" Monday [1 February] for political dialogue in Zaire and offered to play a role in negotiations.

"The OAU is prepared to contribute (to this) by working for the continuation of the concerted action that the Zairis themselves have already begun so that the violence gives way to dialogue," he said in a statement released here.

Diouf said he was issuing an "urgent appeal to all Zaire's political leaders to open a frank and sincere dialogue." [passage omitted]

OAU Signs Aid Accord With Drought-Stricken Countries

MB3001190993 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1600 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] The Organization of African Unity and four drought-stricken African countries have signed a \$2 million aid agreement. The money is to be distributed between Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe through the African Development Bank.

Reports from the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa where the deal was signed, say of the four countries, Mozambique has been the worst affected by the drought, mainly due to prolonged civil war in the country which has displaced more than 3 million people. A million Mozambicans have been forced to flee to neighboring countries as refugees.

Zaire

Government Appeals for Foreign Military Intervention

AB0202131593 Paris AFP in English 1259 GMT
1 Feb 93

[Excerpts] Kinshasa, Feb 1 (AFP)—Zaire's transitional government appealed for military intervention by Belgium, the United States and France to restore "order and security" here, claiming that rioting by Army troops left more than 1,000 dead.

An official of the government of Prime Minister Etienne Tshisekedi, which was sacked in December by President Mobutu Sese Seko but has refused to step down, phoned the appeal to foreign journalists late Monday [1 February]. The plea was signed by transitional government Foreign Minister Pierre Lumbi. [passage omitted]

The transitional government also rejected responsibility for the riots, saying the Mobutu regime was "solely to blame."

It came as a spokesman for Mobutu, who has ruled mineral-rich Zaire with an iron hand for 27 years, blamed the Tshisekedi government for the outbreak of the riots, which started when the regime paid soldiers in new banknotes that traders refused to accept.

Lumbi's statement broke near total silence by political circles since the trouble started Thursday [28 January], sparking an exodus of some 1,800 foreigners.

The country's High Council, one of the transitional political bodies, reportedly tried in vain to meet Sunday [31 January] and again Monday [1 February]. Some sources said it was unable to draw a quorum though others said the military had blocked it from meeting.

The Council's head, Laurent Mosengwo, on Tuesday went on radio to appeal for calm and urged the military and the politicians not to make the situation worse. [passage omitted]

Though signs of life returned to Kinshasa's downtown administrative district Tuesday, it was still off-limits to foreigners without passes and sealed off by the military. Mini-buses and taxis—again running in many working class districts—were barred from the downtown district and Zairian nationals had to show identity cards to get through roadblocks. Public transportation was not working, and though hundreds of workers showed up Tuesday morning, many had to walk 10 to 20 kilometers (six to 12 miles) to their jobs.

Presidency Views Background to Currency Crisis

LD0102210293 Kinshasa Tele-Zaire Television Network
in French 1900 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Statement issued by President Mobutu Sese Seko; place and date not given—read by Professor Kabuya Lumuna, Presidency spokesman]

[Text] The Presidency of the Republic announces to the national and international public that the president of the Republic will address the nation very shortly.

Meanwhile, it is announced that the authorities concerned have been instructed to take all useful measures to ensure the protection of citizens, particularly Belgian, French, and other expatriates who have decided to remain in our country.

The Presidency of the Republic calls on all compatriots to display patriotism and solidarity in denouncing and rendering harmless [mettre hors d'état de nuire] all unpatriotic persons [inciviques].

Dear compatriots: The president of the Republic is keen to stress that the progress of the democratic process is irreversible, but it cannot be blocked by a kind of stubbornness that is useless and dangerous to the people, a stubbornness being displayed by certain politicians. To this effect, it is advisable for everyone to keep in mind the chain of events that we have just experienced.

On 26 January, the collegium of secretaries general, acting within the scope of its responsibilities and aware of the state of the national treasury, indicated the need to make more extensive use of banknotes worth 5 million zaires and announced accompanying measures to ensure their proper circulation.

On 27 January, the administrative services concerned announced the payment of civil servants and soldiers who accept notes worth 5 million zaires, with 60 percent of the salary being paid in this banknote and 40 percent in other notes. Businessmen—particularly those in the food sector; bankers, via the Zairian Association of Banks; diamond merchants; and oilmen—who were previously consulted agreed to cooperate and asked for a period of 24 to 48 hours to take the necessary measures for the use of the banknotes with regard to their supplies.

On 28 January, when the notes worth 5 million zaires were already in circulation in the market, foreign papers and radio stations widely reported Prime Minister Tshisekedi wa Mulumba's communique repeating his illegal measure demonetizing this note. Substituting themselves for the officials of the Economy Ministry, the Union for Democracy and Social Progress fighters set about threatening shopkeepers who accepted the banknote worth 5 million zaires, thus creating panic and doubt. It is in these regrettable circumstances that some Armed Forces members, disillusioned about not being able to use their banknotes worth 5 million zaires, mutinied and embarked on deplorable looting.

The Presidency of the Republic reminds citizens of the following three facts:

1. There are not enough banknotes, apart from the notes worth 5 million zaires—and soon the notes worth 10 million zaires—to satisfy the current needs of the state

treasury, mainly to ensure the payment of civil servants, the functioning of public services, as well as the current needs of small businesses.

2. The strength of a currency is based on the following three factors: security, trust, and investment. Anyone who maintains deliberate distrust toward the currency of his country or discourages the investor or even encourages trouble will be guilty of high treason.

3. The currency of a country is not to be mixed up with the position of a political party.

We call on everyone to make an effort to avoid needlessly politicizing a problem that certainly does not deserve to cause so much human loss and property loss. What is important now, and which everybody awaits with impatience, is the setting up of a government that will have the triple mission of ensuring security for people and property, stopping the continuous deterioration of the living conditions of the people, and continuing—if not accelerating—the perfection of the democratization process by organizing the referendum on the Constitution and elections at all levels.

Thank you.

Situation in Kinshasa Remains 'Extremely Serious'

LD0202100393 Paris Radio France International in French 0630 GMT 2 Feb 93

[Excerpts] The death toll from last week's riots in Zaire is climbing. The transition government says that there were 1,000 casualties, mainly mutinous soldiers. The Zairean Human Rights League puts the number of dead at around 500, and the Belgian Embassy in Kinshasa yesterday evening estimated at least 300.

The governor of Kinshasa has not provided exact figures, but he did say that he was horrified by the reports he had received from the various hospitals in the capital, where, he said, the situation remains extremely serious. [passage omitted]

The odd gunshot was being heard even yesterday in the capital, where, according to refugees arriving in Brazzaville on the other side of the river, the looting allegedly has started again even though special forces loyal to President Mobutu are patrolling many of the capital's

districts. In the last two or three days around 1,500 European nationals have left for Brazzaville. [passage omitted]

There is talk of the Belgian paratroopers who were sent to Brazzaville possibly returning to Brussels before the weekend. [passage omitted]

As for the transition government, through Foreign Minister Pierre Lumbi it has asked the international community—particularly Belgium, the United States, and France—to offer military aid to reestablish order. It naturally holds President Mobutu alone responsible for all these events.

French Charge d'Affaires Comments, Updates Situation

LD0102181493 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1700 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] Calm has returned to the streets of Kinshasa, which have remained strangely deserted today. The population of Kinshasa does not dare go out after the violence of last weekend. The death toll is more than 100 people killed, according to the Zairean Human Rights League. Meetings and gatherings are banned.

Our special envoy to Zaire, Christophe Ondelatte, met the charge d'affaires of the French Embassy in Kinshasa who replaces the ambassador, also a victim of this violence. Pierre Coulon, explained to Ondelatte that, according to Marshall Mobutu, Mobutu has things well in hand again.

[Begin Coulon recording] We have sent our armored vehicle this morning to patrol in the city, even deep into the poor districts. It seems that we are heading toward a relatively calm situation. President Mobutu has demonstrated that from now on he is the sole person in charge. His Special Presidential Division [DSP] has repressed the regular troops' insurrection so well that they are quartered in their barracks under the control of the DSP.

The crisis that we have just witnessed shows well that a political vacuum still exists. The prime minister has not shown up, and one might well conclude that the opposition is leaving the Presidency a clear field. [end recording]

Some 30 French citizens left Kinshasa for Brazzaville today.

Ethiopia

Further on Meles Remarks on Demonstrations, Eritrea

EA0102171093 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 1730 GMT 31 Jan 93

["Part Two" of President Meles Zenawi's news conference with unidentified local reporters; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] Some statements have been made in the past about some organizations uniting and standing together. In fact, in politics the merging of various political parties is not a new phenomenon; in fact, it has always existed in this world. For example, if we take the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, the organization has been formed by various political organizations [words indistinct] if that is the case, then why is the collaboration and gathering of those organizations considered illegal?

[Meles] It is impossible to consider the collaboration and unity of organizations wholly as illegal. But if their joint objectives are illegal, of course the unity and collaboration is illegal. But if their joint stand and objectives are legal, then collaboration and unity is not only legal but it is something that deserves support and encouragement. As a principle, I believe we cannot forge ahead for long with over 100 communist parties. In my opinion, in the long run, the small organizations and those with common objectives will draw closer together to form stronger organizations. Therefore, the collaboration of organizations for common objectives cannot be illegal. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] My question is on the 4 January incident at the university. What you said earlier is the same as what was said by the Council of Representatives two days ago. I believe it was the government's obligation to allow the students to reach their destination. Second, I believe it was the government's obligation and responsibility to stop the students before they left the main campus. By doing so the government would have controlled the situation and averted the incidents. In fact, some people say that the government, owing to the lack of water for its fire brigade, attacked the students with bullets. Indeed, it is said that the government has failed to acknowledge its mistakes. The government initially had many options to solve the problem. There is also a rumor that the students were against the Charter [words indistinct] then even if they were against the Charter, should they have been treated thus? Can you give us your opinion on this?

[Meles] First, the right to oppose the Charter is clearly stated in the Charter, so it is not a crime. Anybody has the right to oppose or support the Charter. And this right to oppose the Charter is stated within the Charter itself thus, when we say that the students were acting illegally, it was not because they were opposed to the Charter. This must be clear.

Second, why were they barred from going to their chosen destination? Demonstrations are held in any country in compliance with the rules and regulations of that country. Demonstrations can be held after applying and receiving permission to demonstrate but not only did these people not apply for permission but they resolved not to do so at their meetings.

They resolved of their own accord just to violate the law. In such a situation, to allow them to proceed with their desire would require a change to the decree on demonstrations since other Ethiopians hold their demonstrations with permission. In such a situation, the government cannot apply two rules on the same issue. [passage omitted]

The main cause for the incident is the illegal demonstration of the students. If they had obtained permission like anybody else, they could have staged their demonstration peacefully. When they were told to stop and disperse, they refused to do so. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] I wish to raise the issue of the university again. According to current rumors, it is said that the university will be closed until the referendum in Eritrea in April is concluded. The other rumor is that since the government fears intellectuals, it has closed the university just to disperse the intellectuals. Do you have any comments on this? When do you think the university will be opened?

[Meles] I think there are two different questions. The first is why the university was closed. The university was closed after the incidents had occurred. Various steps were later taken by the government: The first was to give detailed information to the public about the incidents; second, to try to work hand in hand with the university administration so that the university could reopen. However, the situation at the university was found to be dangerous during and after the occurrence of the incidents.

First, although most of the students of the university were found to be willing to continue with their studies and we had enough evidence of this, these students were not properly organized and had no power to implement their wish and desire. But on the other hand, those students who did not want to continue with their studies were relatively well organized. [passage indistinct]

The second question is when the university will reopen. It will be decided after prearrangements are fully concluded. But there is one point that can be truly expressed and that is that the university will definitely reopen before the referendum. It is difficult to decide when right now, but I am sure it will be reopened before the referendum since the issue of the referendum is not something that can be solved by student demonstrations. Indeed, even the military force of the Dergue was unable to stop it. [passage omitted]

The Eritrean question needs a practical solution. And what is the practical solution to it? We have got only two options.

The first is: The Eritreans must live with us whether they like it or not. The other option is to allow the Eritreans to decide their destiny. We have only got these two options. There is no other option. The first option had been tried for the last 30 years and I think it was not the right solution. It will lead us into unwanted fighting. Will we benefit if we choose to fight? To fight you require at least two things: The first is money and the second is manpower. If these two things are not available you cannot fight. [passage indistinct]

[Reporter] It is said that before coming to power the Eritrean group had the support of the Arab countries. Now it is said that they have established relations with Israel, abandoning their previous supporters, the Arabs, and that this was done under pressure from the American and Ethiopian Government [words indistinct]. I want your comment on this if you know anything about it.

[Meles] The answer to this question and other questions will be presented to you in part three tomorrow.

Somalia

Warring Factions Postpone National Conference Meeting

AB0102153593 Paris AFP in English 1520 GMT
1 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Mogadishu, Feb 1 (AFP) - Somalia's warring factions postponed a meeting Monday [1 February] planned to pave the way for a national reconciliation conference until Tuesday, delegates said.

"Preparatory work is continuing," one delegate, Mohamed Farah Abdullahi, told AFP. "There's no rush. Some of us have only just arrived and it's better that we don't start until tomorrow."

The talks were due to have begun at the headquarters here of the U.N. Operation for Somalia (UNOSOM).

Abdullahi represents the Somali Democratic Alliance (SDA) from the north of the country close to the border

with Djibouti. The 3DA gathers members of the Gada-bursi clan opposed to the independence of breakaway Somaliland in the north.

An observer from the Non-Aligned Movement of nations said preliminary work was still necessary to enable talks to take place. [passage omitted]

Uganda

Officials Examine Zairean Refugee Situation

AB0102194593 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 1 Feb 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Zairians are continuing to (?stream) across the border with Uganda in the hundreds, fleeing clashes between government troops and Congolese Liberation Army rebels. There have been intermittent rebel attacks in the area bordering Uganda's Kasese District in recent months. But the Army's response has frightened the life out of some civilians, and the latest influx has taken the number of Zairians in Kasese to over 14,000. From Kampala, Eppajar Ojullu telexed this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] The exodus over the weekend involved at least 600 refugees who crossed into Uganda's Kasese District. The deputy district administrator for Kasese, Mr. Victor Wanieto, said that the refugees were now living in schools, churches, and other public institutions in the Ugandan border subcounties of Buera and Karambe. He said that in those areas, facilities had reached a breaking point. The official said that because of the pressure on facilities, and since the school term had restarted, the government had decided to shift the refugees immediately to (Triakatu) refugee camp, 40 miles away, where another 5,000 Zairian refugees were transferred last year.

UN High Commission for Refugees representative in Kampala, Mr. Mohamed Farah, told me this afternoon that an operation to shift at least 10,000 of the refugees would be under way in a couple of days' time. Over the weekend, the Zairian consul in Kasese, Mr. Lebatu Labonga, and Ugandan district officials addressed the refugees in an attempt to convince them to return home. However, their appeal had no effect, especially when fresh refugees arrived and spoke of the deteriorating situation inside Zaire with troops on the rampage. The newcomers were quoted as saying that they came from Beni District across the border to escape the havoc the Zairian troops in the area threatened to inflict on them. They said that they would not return to Zaire until some political order had returned to the country. [end recording]

De Klerk: Continued Violence Will Delay Elections

MB0202110793 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0800 GMT 2 Feb 93

[Text] State President F.W. de Klerk says he will delay democratic elections if violence continues to ravage the country. De Klerk has said, in an interview on BBC Television, that he is not prepared to hand South Africa over to chaos. He says elections must be free and fair, and that a precondition for this is for violence to be removed.

But he says: he is convinced that success in multiparty talks will dramatically reduce the violence. De Klerk also says the mood in the country is that people are getting disillusioned with political leaders and want to see progress. He says this pressure is mounting on all leaders to reach agreement.

Mandela: 'Critical' That Election Date Be Set Soon

MB0202111093 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1012 GMT 2 Feb 93

[Text] Johannesburg Feb 2 SAPA—African National Congress (ANC) President Nelson Mandela on Tuesday said it was critical for South Africa that a date be set soon for the country's first non-racial elections.

The ANC president made this comment after meeting a delegation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) at the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg.

"I told them it was critical that a date for a general election be set soon," he said.

However, he continued, there remained differences between the ANC and government on the question of power-sharing and that of a government of national unity.

The head of the ICFTU delegation at the meeting, Bob White, said they were in South Africa to assess the violence plaguing "progressive movements" and trade union federations.

The Brussels-based ICFTU Has 164 national trade union centres in 117 countries and represents 113 million workers worldwide.

After the meeting Mr Mandela and the ANC's economics chief, Trevor Manuel, went into a closed-door meeting with a delegation of Caltex international headed by Charles Boyce, the vice-chairman: chief financial officer.

De Klerk Addresses Political Developments, Programs

MB0102065493 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1815 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Interview with State President F.W. de Klerk by a panel of "ordinary citizens" including Jack Botes from Pietersburg, Lillian Dube from Soweto, Reverend John

Hartney from Kuilsriver, and Errol Spring from East London at the presidential residence Tuynhuys, Cape Town; chaired by SABC reporter Freek Robinson on the "Agenda" program—live; italicized passages in English]

[Text] [Robinson] Good evening and welcome from Cape Town and from Tuynhuys, the state president's office. In this office important decisions are made daily which affect your life and mine. Tonight we will give ordinary citizens an opportunity to ask the state president about these matters.

Mr. State President, welcome. Thank you for the opportunity to be here.

[De Klerk] *From my side also welcome to Tuynhuys.*

[Robinson] *And may I introduce you to our panel. I will start alphabetically. I want to introduce you to Jack Botes from Pietersburg, Lillian Dube from Soweto, Rev. John Hartney from Kuilsriver, and Mr. Errol Spring from East London. Welcome to all of you. I want to give Mr. Botes here next to me the chance to start.*

[Botes] State President, thank you very much for the opportunity and the honor. Three years ago the enthusiasm for your new initiatives was very high. The referendum results were indicative of this. Gradually it would seem that problems began, there was destabilization, there were murders, there were conflicts, and you know, in my part of the world, the people's emotions are shallow at times, they are impatient at times, but you gave assurances in your opening address—for which one has to be very grateful—that the government is going to act more firmly. The question now is: You indicated that strong action will be taken against the culprits of violence, against the instigators of unrest, I think you even used the term that that which is happening now is creating a crises of confidence. Is it your conviction that what the government has in the pipeline will have the desired results, and that in the months or year ahead we can have hope that things will go off more peacefully?

[De Klerk] Yes, I definitely believe that the additional steps which I referred to will have a desired and a good result. I also want to remind that I in fact stressed that policing alone, even if it is perfect policing, cannot end political violence. To end political violence, the leaders of all political parties, and in particular of those parties whose followers are at each other's throats, have to accept co-responsibility. But I believe that as regards the criminal element in political violence, as well as violence per se, the additional measures will have a very good result.

I want to tell you now. We are not going to start acting firmly against crime now. We have always acted strongly against crime. We have enlarged the police force dramatically. If one looks at the police budget, it has more than doubled over a very short period since 1990. All sorts of additional methods are being implemented by the police. The emphasis of the new measures which we want to still add, involve two factors. First, we want to get community involvement. We want to make it easy for the community to work together. We also want them not to be harmed when they work together. That is why I spoke about consensus. We want to extend the farm and neighborhood watch.

The other emphasis falls on stiffer punishment for the basic problem of crime involving violence—there are too many AK-47s and too many other illegal weapons circulating, and we are going to make this punishable without the option of a fine. Therefore we have identified those areas which we think, especially with the community's cooperation, we can throw a network which will constitute a firm wall of resistance against crime, and also against the criminal aspect of political violence. But the political violence itself, as long as it is politically motivated, there I call on the Peace Accord with its structures. We want the accord to get teeth, and we are pressing for such a meeting, and we have our proposals ready which we want to submit, and I appeal to all other political leaders to play their full role in this regard. What is most essential, is that they have to discipline their own followers so that they act in such a way in decisions and speeches which will defuse the violence, and the most important way to get that right, is, we have to get multiparty talks back on track. When people see their leaders talking together, and doing so in a good spirit, and there is progress; that will be the best method to decrease the political temperature.

[Robinson] *Mrs. Dube, the first question was about security matters, now from Soweto, what is your concern?*

[Dube] *Mr. de Klerk, I want to thank you very much, because I think that you are a great and reasonable man. I've got only one question for you. Why do we not have elections? Because I think that if we—all the people of South Africa—have elections, and choose someone that we all have chosen, we will then be able to say, Mr. de Klerk—that is if we have chosen you—why is there violence? Why don't we have schools? Why don't we have this and this? But now, because we didn't choose you, we don't know whether you've got our interests at heart or not, so please give us the freedom to be able to choose whoever we'll choose and then we can say please, why are you not doing this and that?*

[De Klerk] *Thank you. The whole aim of everything that we're doing now on the negotiation is to reach the point where there will be an election as soon as possible, in which all South Africans of the same age—18 years and older, or whatever we agree—will have a vote of equal value. But there's one thing where already there is agreement between all the political leaders, and that is, I*

mustn't on my own, unilaterally, call an election and decide the date, and decide who can vote, and decide the procedures of the voting. There is agreement between the government, the ANC [African National Congress], IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party], PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], all other parties that we must agree in multiparty talks on how that election must be conducted. We must agree what the Constitution...[pauses] because election takes place in terms of a law, a constitution, what that constitution—even it's just a transitional or interim constitution—must contain and must provide for. So, while I'm anxious, all the political parties say no, the route to get to that election, and we want to get there too, is for us to discuss in multiparty talks, to reach an agreement and then to call an election.

I have announced a time schedule. I think if everything goes well we can definitely have an election by March or April next year. But if we can make faster progress with negotiations, it might be possible to have it by the end of this year.

Secondly on the election, I would like to say we must all realize that an election must take place in a calm atmosphere. With the violence as it is, I see difficulties for an election. And therefore, it is so important to bring the level of the violence down, because each South African must not go to that election in fear. There must be no intimidation. Each South African must feel that he is free to vote however he wants to. Each South African, man and woman, must be sure that when he or she makes her cross, and puts it into that box, nobody will know how he or she voted.

All those rules we must work out now, before we can have an election, but in the meantime, even if you and your people didn't vote for me, I have the interest of all South Africans at heart.

[Robinson] *Mr. Hartney from Kuilsriver?*

[Hartney] *Mr. State President, I want to make a remark in general on the address last Friday. My perception of the address was that you spoke from the point of view of whites in general, and the National Party in particular. While you pretended that you were talking on behalf of the country as a whole, I got the impression that your speech was meant to, in fact, pacify the whites that the government is in control of things. To take the example cited by Mr. Botes just now, in connection with the violence and so on. You know, it appeared to me that references were made to things which have never really been tested. I was also left with the impression that there were a few contradictions, saying for instance that the current violence in the country is only politically inspired, that there is no element of crime linked to it, that is the one matter. The other matter which baffled me is that in previous years there was also violence, thousands of South Africans, blacks incidentally, died in violence. Then there was no mention of such stiff retribution in the pipeline. Why only now after King William's Town, after the eastern Free State? That is the*

impression which not only I, but many blacks have out there, see us the reason for your speech.

[De Klerk] Well, Reverend, let me start with your first problem, which is that you feel the speech was directed more at whites' interests. I want to ensure you that your community, and the black community in South Africa are just as concerned and just as disturbed about the violence and the crime as any white person, and that from their side also comes a cry of distress, they are just as hurt and are in many cases even bigger victims of the violence, and that is why anything that we do to curb violence, to counter crime more effectively, is to the advantage of every South African. It is also not true that all of a sudden, just because there have been murders of whites, we are worried and only now we are doing something which we have not done in the past.

In 1991 we also made far-reaching announcements on how to strengthen our capabilities to curb crime. And at that stage, our hope was vested firmly in the fact that negotiations would make good progress, and that it would have a good effect, which it did. Until Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], not of our doing, but through that of others, broke up and was forced to a halt, all went well, we were making good progress, and if one analyses all the statistics of violence, one can see that things were better while negotiations were making progress. As for what happened in King William's Town, the victims were also blacks, and it is blacks who make up the biggest number of the victims in Natal. And do you know what we have done in Natal? We deployed the armed forces on a massive scale. Because the terrain is so impassable, we got hundreds of mountain bicycles to enable policemen to reach points which they were unable to reach with a four-wheel drive vehicle. Everywhere we take the same amount of trouble. There is no discrimination in our approach in this regard.

All the other things I mentioned—the issue that we are moving to one education department, that is an aspect which has always come out strongly from your community, and from the community of black South Africans. The motion accepted in Parliament that own affairs have to be done away with, had been proposed by colored and Indian representatives and accepted. And I am saying that it is going to happen. I do not differ with you Reverend, but I differ with your analysis. I admit there is still a lot of suspicion. There is suspicion which says it is too good to be true that the National Party has decided it really wants to share power.

Let me remind you that the National Party, of which I am a leader, is no longer a white party. It has wide support. Ten to one, the majority of your congregation would vote for the National Party if they could vote. We speak on behalf of all South Africans, on behalf of all South Africans who support the norms and values—which are also important to you, Christian norms and values, stability, the maintenance of a free-market system, the protection of every person who has the right

to property—whether it is a big house or a small one—those values. There are South Africans irrespective of race or color, they all believe in those things. We are trying to protect those values in South Africa. We no longer think in terms of race.

[Robinson] Mr. State President, you referred to King William's Town. We have Mr. Spring there, he's from the Border region. Mr. Spring is also a businessman, Mr. Spring?

[Spring] Thank you very much. Mr. President, there are a number of issues that I would certainly like to discuss with you this evening, but the first and most pressing issue as far as I'm concerned is the state of the country's economy, and with particular reference to some of the regional economies, particularly the region that I come from, which is the Border-Kei region. I think there's general consensus that economic growth and development is not going to take place until the politicians have come to terms with each other, and until we see which direction the country is going, and what sort of political solution we're going to have in this country. I was encouraged by what you said in your opening address on Friday, but there are certain regional economies like the Border-Kei region for example, where I don't believe we can wait that long before we embark upon a program of economic reconstruction. And here I believe it is not just the people of the region who have to be doing something for themselves, but I also believe that we need some support and some input from the government.

To give you an example of what we in the Border-Kei region have done, we've established an organization which we call the Border-Kei Development Forum, and for the first time ever in the history of that region, we've have people right across the spectrum of opinion, sitting down, putting their political differences aside, and talking about a development strategy for the region. I think as we look at our region, we realize that we on our own, will never be able to embark upon a process of reconstruction.

My question to you, Mr. President, in this respect is: Are you aware of these initiatives that are taking place in the various regions and what is the attitude of the government toward giving us some material assistance in giving the economies of those regions a jump start?

[De Klerk] First, I welcome the initiatives. Yes, I'm aware of them. It has always been our policy and still is, that we believe in development of regions, in decentralization in as much as it is possible of the economy. I announced in my speech the success of the present decentralization program and regional development program, and how many new programs we're expected to create, and if I remember correctly, 20,000 in one year, directly, and another 50,000 indirectly. What we have done, is to revise the schemes and the basis of the scheme because there were some misuses, some abuse. Secondly, we were picking up accounts without being able to contain the amounts and therefore it had a very negative impact on our capacity to stay within our budget. So for good

reasons, yes, there were fundamental amendments, but we have not deserted in any way whatsoever the concept of regional development.

I believe also under a new constitution one of the most important functions of central government, where we have regional government, will be to assure that the poorer regions will continue to get some form of development incentives, but we welcome it that initiatives are taken within the region. You know best how we can assist, and once you get yourself organized as you are doing in your region, you'll be able to devise plans and to put your finger on the problems, and in negotiation with government, in interaction, yes, you will find us ready, willing and able to, within the framework of the total country's economic interest, to extend a hand and somehow or another to help with incentives.

We also don't believe in aid, I'm very glad that you suggested a jump start and that you're not asking for aid. Yes, we believe that we must help people to help themselves, and we must give incentives to create development but mainly, it must be the private sector which must be the main generator of economic activity. The state's share in the economy must be reduced, it is too high. That is part of our problem, that is why our taxes are too high, that was part of the inflation problem, and we are adamant that we're going to reduce state expenditures without depleting the necessary services which the state must render.

[Robinson] Thank you, Mr. State President. I think we will have a commercial break now, and then we'll come back with our discussion. I hope we will have a more open and free discussion then, a free for all. Thank you. We'll be back in a moment.

[Robinson] We are back here at Tuynhuys in Cape Town at the office of the State President and with us, ordinary civilians, who are asking the state president some questions. We begin with you Mr. Botes, quickly now your question?

[Botes] Sir, three years ago expectations were created that within a year or two things would start happening. Now we know, and one cannot blame you, many factors have been working against you, and nothing happened, but you have finally given us some dates. According to you this year 1993, is indeed the year of action. Are the other role players in this arena in agreement with you, and can we now expect that these dates are feasible, because there are people out there who feel that this foot-dragging attitude is really counterproductive?

[De Klerk] Yes, there is definitely a greater realism amongst the other important role players. A realization that the world out there, the international community, which is economically important to us, is beginning to get impatient. I think that as long as the international community is in contact with the political leaders, there is a clear message, from Africa, from Europe, and from the U.S., to all politicians in South Africa: you must now hurry. The whole of Africa is anxious for us to succeed.

Internal circumstances, and also the supporters of all parties are impatient with their own leaders because no progress is being made. That is why there is this real sense of greater realism which gives me much confidence. But I also want to stress that much happened in the past three years. We had delays. Twice within six months unnecessary incidents outside our control could have been avoided. But still a lot happened within that period. Just look at the international breakthroughs we've had. We are back in the sports arena, we have markets for our products. This means we are already picking good fruit from our labor. If we look at the internal preparations which we could have accomplished as a government in laying the foundation for a new dispensation, then South Africa today looks dramatically different from three years ago. But I am optimistic, not just with stars in my eyes, but on the basis of my discussions, and on the basis of the realism clearly coming through from all the government negotiations with other parties.

[Robinson] Just as a quick comment in between, Mr. State President, it was interesting earlier on the question asked by Mrs. Dube, that you said even at the end of this year it's possible to have an election. Is that a fact?

[De Klerk] Yes, well, the election depends on when do we reach agreement on a transitional constitution on an electoral act, on the rules and regulations for that, on everything which is necessary to precede an election. The time schedule which I spelled out has allowed reasonable time periods for this. If we make a quick breakthrough in negotiations and get consensus earlier, then the election date will definitely be able to be brought forward.

[Robinson] Mrs. Dube, do you want to follow on?

[Dube] Yes, please. Mr. de Klerk, I'd like to know, in other countries how do people vote. Can we not have someone monitoring and then we just have elections, because for me it looks like you'll go on negotiating and negotiating and having a transitional government, and why have it when eventually the government that the people are going to elect is going to change the laws anyway?

[De Klerk] Yes, it's not the question of just voting. Let me give you an example. We have a choice in South Africa. Do you vote for a person or do you vote for a party?

[Dube] For a party.

[De Klerk] We must still agree. In Germany you vote for a party. In England you vote for a person. At the moment in South Africa you vote mainly for a person. We must agree. At the moment the whole discussion is moving towards the fact that you won't be voting for an individual person, for Mr. A, or Mrs. B, but you'll be voting for party A, or party B, and that there will be, what they call, proportional representation. So we cannot call an election before we agree what you will be voting for? What will the constitution say? How many people must be in parliament? Will there be a senate or won't there be a senate? Will there be regional government? I say yes, there must be. How many people must you elect there? You must

have an agreement first on that and it is reaching the agreement which is causing the delay. Not the logistical problem of managing an election. That's easy, we have lots of experience in that.

[Dube] I beg your pardon sir, the reason I'm pressing with elections is because there's so much violence in Soweto and we always feel that when black people die nothing is being done. You say you care for us, but whenever there's one white person that's dead, I mean, there's a lot that's being done, so we think that if we elect a someone, then we'll be able to say people are dying, it doesn't matter what color, because I know that black and white people have worked together, even in the darkest times of apartheid there's always been a better relationship amongst people, it's only up there, I don't know what's happening, but we the people in the street work together harmoniously, am I wrong? We do work very well. So please let's have elections we are not going to vote color. We are going to work for a person we can be able to say to please do this and this for us. As people not as black and white or what.

[De Klerk] I'm very glad that you are putting such strong emphasis on almost a feeling of ...[pauses] which you represent, a feeling that we must now start moving. I share that feeling with you, and I hope that all the other leaders of other parties who listen to this tonight will hear your voice representing Soweto saying stop finding excuses not to move forward. Start moving forward, that is what all the people in South Africa want. You need not convince me, I'm already convinced.

[Robinson] Rev. Hartney?

[Hartney] Mr. State President, you have now also heard from someone coming from the same environment as myself, but enough of that. What I would like to mention is this: Is the problem not that there is too much emphasis on, as the English say, point scoring between the different parties? That no one wants to make room for the other. If I may give you an example—the other parties are not present here now, so I'll direct my attack at you. For example, your charter of fundamental rights. The entrenchment of minority rights being called for is seen as an attempt to entrench the power position of the minority?

[De Klerk] Well, in the first place, we will only make the charter public, I think, on Tuesday.

[Robinson] But with due respect you might as well....

[De Klerk, interrupting] I just want to say this. We place, for example, strong emphasis on accommodating culture and language diversities, and also religious diversities in South Africa. We think there are minorities which should not be defined by virtue of race, but on the basis of culture, language, and religion, for example, and in politics you define yourself within a party. This is not about power, this is all preventing the misuse of power. In the past nonwhites in South Africa felt that the whites, who had all the power, misused that power to their detriment. We say this must be eliminated, but never

ever again must any government, no matter how it has been put together, misuse its power to downgrade or oppress other minorities—language, cultural or other—or to withhold their rights.

And the fundamental rights which we advocate, in a way, fits in with an international report on how it is being done throughout the world: The rights of, especially the individual, the right to equal access to our courts, and all the basic fundamental rights which enables an individual to live decently, as a free person with dignity, and without unfair government interference in the execution of those rights.

There is no color when we talk about minorities. The world teaches us that. Do you know that in the United Nations, for example, the main topic of discussion is on accelerating agreements on how minority rights throughout the world should be getting more attention. Africa, which after Uhuru [freedom in Swahili] has known no apartheid, is marked by bloody civil wars, because minority rights in African states have been trampled on by the majority.

Nigeria is an example, the situation only improved there after they began to create regions and to recognize the diversity of its population during its transitional phase. What we advocate has nothing to do with apartheid, has nothing to do with power, it has to do with steps to prevent the misuse of power. This is the main cornerstone on which the U.S. Constitution is also built.

[Hartney] But you can still find racial discrimination in the U.S.?

[De Klerk] Correct, a law cannot convict a person of sin in his heart, and the law cannot tell a man what to think as an individual, or how to live. That is what we must do, with God's help, to change hearts. Laws cannot change hearts. Laws can make rules, but your mission and my mission is to change hearts. I try to do this.

[Robinson] Rev. Hartney, thanks to you, we have had some information on a document which has not yet been published. Mr. Spring?

[Spring] Mr. President, I would like to start off by endorsing very strongly the plea that has been made by Mrs. Dube for the process that would bring us to an election to be speeded up quite dramatically, because quite frankly the view that I have is that a lot of so-called leaders, being afforded a lot more credibility than they would deserve in the end, once we've had an election to see where the power lies. [sentence as heard] And a lot of these leaders are really hampering the process. So, I believe the move to an election must take place as quickly as possible.

But I'd like to pick up another point from your address on Friday, Mr. President, and that was the fact that you made no mention of the process of reincorporation of the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states. The reason why I ask that is obvious. Where I come from we sit with two independent states within our economic

region, but what worries me, Mr. President, is that although there has been acceptance in principle that these TBVC states will be reincorporated, there's no apparent process being set in motion to prepare these states for reincorporation. I don't believe that reincorporation can take place with a stroke of a pen.

In fact there are many issues that would have to be dealt with, and we on a number of occasions, from my part of the world, have made submissions to the government that the process be started as soon as possible. For example, we believe that an equitable way to do it would be through consent between the South African Government and the governments of the TBVC states to set an administrator in place with a mandate to administer the territories in the meantime, but to prepare them for reincorporation.

Also, Mr. President, the question of local government. I think a lot needs to be done to prepare the change to a new system of local government. And where we sit I believe that we should be more involved in that process because local government is the one that affects us, at our level more than any other government, and nothing....

[Robinson, interrupting] Mr. Spring, can we get to the point?

[Spring] Okay. Nothing seems to be done to set these processes in motion. This is of concern?

[De Klerk] Let me start with the local government. We accepted, I think, more than a year ago, a bill which became an act of Parliament and allowed initiatives for local government in a city or in a town to start cooperating to form joint administrations, to make their own deals. Various models were set up, and we are disappointed with the reaction that we had. Not many took the initiative, sort of, took the opportunity which we created for them. You should note that I now have a minister for local government who doesn't have any other portfolio. It is a high priority of the government.

We are now also bringing the own affairs over so that we will have, from the top planning point of view, a much more centralized position where there will be strong focus. I give you that assurance on local government. I'm also disappointed. I share also your disappointment with the lack of progress, but the main reason why there's a lack of progress was the breakdown of Codesa II. But we stand on the threshold of resumption of multiparty negotiations, and yes, you are quite correct when you say the route would be to first get also transitional arrangements going, inside, for instance Transkei and Ciskei, but also between us. We have structural adjustment committees where we now keep much closer watch on finance in the sense that where we give money we are trying to ensure that the budgetary control will also—and by agreement we do it—the budgetary control will be effective.

But what is necessary is also for multiparty negotiations to get going again. In the meantime I give you the assurance that in bilateral discussions we are putting emphasis on the need that we must move forward as soon

as possible. But one can't choose the leaders of other countries, as you can't choose the leaders of opposition parties. And it takes two to tango sometimes, and in that sense of the word, in your region I must say as head of government, I'm not at all happy with the present state of affairs.

And the government is working towards assuring that we get negotiation on track again. And next to other items at the top of the agenda, as one of the important aspects is, we must now get clear on what will happen to the TBVC states. I'm glad that you acknowledge and realize that it will have to be a process, it can't take place overnight.

[Robinson] One last Afrikaans question. Mr. Botes, do you have a question? We have about two minutes left.

[Botes] Sir, you place a very high premium on state governing, strong state governing. In my world, we are 100 percent in agreement with you, and I think the people there, especially the other three states, in addition to the Transvaal Provincial Administration, are practically prepared for that. Now you have dissolved the Presidents Council, Own Affairs Administrations are being dismantled....

[De Klerk, interrupting] Being phased out.

[Botes] Being phased out, indeed, and the powers of those authorities are being devolved. Now you talk again about strengthening the provinces with more MEC'S [Members of Executive Committees]. Is this not counterproductive, while the province should also be phased out when regional government comes in?

[De Klerk] Well, regional government will take the place of the provinces. When I talk about MEC's I don't mean hordes of new MEC's. I mean moderate powers, in order to bring the government nearer to the people. And this is what devolution means. That is why the provinces will get more powers. Others will be transferred to local management, and quite a few people are currently doing work which will be taken away. I'm talking about individuals, not masses of new people. We are trying out these proposals, which we will be implementing, to replace the expensive and unnecessary duplications with a rationalized and cost effective new system of three-tier government. Not unilaterally, however. We are preparing the foundation; the new constitution will finally say what the character and functions of every level will be.

[Robinson] Mr. Botes?

[Botes] We welcome, of course, the devolution of powers to local authorities. I believe they are ready; they have shown they are responsible enough. We also hope, of course, that appropriate sources of income will be transferred to them.

[De Klerk] Yes. I did say we were also looking at the sources of finance at the same time. It does not help to simply transfer a function and an account. One must

transfer a function, together with the money which you had used for that function in the past.

[Botes] Thank you for that.

[Robinson] *A final question, perhaps, Mrs. Dube? And we have a minute, so a short reply, Mr. President.*

[Dube] *Please, Mr. President, come to Soweto and see how our roads are. They become rivers when there's rain.*

[De Klerk] *I intend to visit Soweto again soon. I've been there before, and yes, I will do my utmost. But, please, through you, if people stop with rent boycotts, and start paying for their electricity, then there will be money, again, to help to attend to those problems. We must restore community involvement. And the boycotts—they're working against the interests of the people.*

[Robinson] Mr. State President, thank you very much for your participation this evening. Thanks also to our panel. Thank you very much for your participation tonight. This was something unique in our television. We appreciate your cooperation.

[De Klerk] Thank you. I enjoyed it too.

[Robinson] All the best. Good night.

Meyer Discusses De Klerk Parliament Address

MB2901173193 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1030 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Interview with South African Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer by SABC reporter Lester Venter in the SABC's parliamentary studio, Cape Town—live; italicized passages in English]

[Text] [Venter] In the studio I have with me, to give an in-depth analysis of the political and constitutional aspects of the state president's address, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer. Mr Meyer, if we could begin with a general overview. How much of your own input was in the speech? How far do you think the address takes your work as minister for constitutional development, and as the person responsible for negotiations? To what degree will the address make your task easier?

[Meyer] It is important first to emphasize that the address itself, the largest part of it, deals with the government's activities and responsibilities over a very broad spectrum. The constitutional aspects of the address form a smaller part. What was important from the constitutional point of view was the rationalization of administrative structures, as announced by the president; in other words, the transfer of own affairs to general affairs. That kind of thing is important with a view to preparations for the transitional government phase which lies ahead.

The address also dealt with violence, which also has a political side. Political violence also has implications for

the negotiation process. That issue was also important from a constitutional point of view. Then, of course, there is the economy, which can have a negative or positive effect on negotiations. Overall, the address gave a picture of where the government's responsibilities lie as identified by the president, and a preview of the year's activities.

Constitutionally, the address may not have answered all the speculation which has gone ahead. I believe the speculation was unfair, by the way. Expectations were nurtured that the president would announce a date for the installation of a transitional government, what agreements have been reached, and that kind of thing. I think those expectations were unreasonable. One must remember that we are conducting bilateral negotiations, as we have done during the past week, with a variety of parties. All that has to come together with a multiparty negotiation process, where agreement can be reached, which can then be implemented. So it is far too early to make announcements. We still have to negotiate. It would be unnatural and wrong to make announcements. To sum up, then: on negotiations and constitutional issues, the president was careful to allow us first to take the negotiations further rather than the government taking unilateral decisions.

[Venter] Nevertheless, my earlier guests felt that the president went too far with the bill of rights issue—not the fact that such a thing is necessary, but the manner in which such a bill of rights must be drawn up. Was their criticism valid?

[Meyer] I listened very carefully to their criticism, and I think it is not quite correct. I would like to differ. For one thing, the bill of rights debate has been going on for quite some time already. The instruction to the Human Rights Commission was made during the eighties by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee. So the commission has been busy with their investigation since then. They produced two interim reports.

About 2 years ago, or 18 months ago, the government undertook to react to the reports when the time was ripe. That time is now. But it does not mean that the debate is being left behind. The Human Rights commission pointed out that the human rights bill must be the result of negotiation, and that is what the state president said today in his address. It is only the government's reaction, with a proposal for public debate. Minister Coetsee will announce more about that next week at a news conference. That will be the government's contribution, for further negotiation. It is an indication that the government is ready to begin talking about this aspect of the constitutional process as well. It is a very important part of the constitutional model of the future, and what we are doing is to say: here it is, let's talk about it. But I must point out that other parties have already made the proposals on other areas of the constitutional debate. For instance, last year already the ANC [African National Congress] published their so-called Transition to Democracy Act, for public information and debate. So

ours must not be seen as one-sided or prescriptive. We must bear in mind the whole public debate already taking place.

[Venter] *Isn't there another danger? You say that the bill of human rights must be a product of negotiation. The president says that it must not simply be a statement of broad principles, but it must be detailed and specific. Are you not—and this is the danger I referred to—are you not overloading the negotiating process, given that it has so much else to do, and simply deciding the practical steps by which the transition must take place, if you put all this responsibility into that negotiating process as well?*

[Meyer] *Well, it is our view that also in the debate leading up to a transitional constitution, and in the process of negotiations, agreeing on the transitional constitution, the bill of rights must be part of it. In other words, we are foreseeing that in the transitional constitution, provision will already be made for a bill of fundamental rights. So it's essentially part of the debate that is going to be lying ahead for us, and in terms of the time scales, you will remember that we have already indicated that agreement on a transitional constitution should be reached before mid-this-year, at the negotiating table. So it's very relevant that we actually in this way also urge the process, to make sure that other parties also start attending to this, as they would have to do regarding constitutional principles, the transitional constitution itself, matters like regionalism, and so forth. It's part of a broader constitutional debate already.*

[Venter] *But through my question I don't want to insinuate that there should not be such a bill of rights as part of the process, or even that there ought to be, but do you really think that it is possible to complete everything by those dates?*

[Meyer] *Well, if we can progress as we have progressed over the past weeks, also through addressing specified fundamental aspects of the constitutional model, and the progress we have made apparently also signalled the moving closer together of the various parties' views, then it is possible, because if we can reach agreement on the fundamental potential differences then I believe that the other aspects will fall in place, and I also believe that we will be able to reach our goal of negotiating all those issues. It will happen, without doubt, and I want to emphasize this. In that regard you are absolutely right. It will require every effort by all negotiating parties, and it will also require real full time dedication from us in the weeks and months to come, to totally dedicate ourselves to negotiation. The point is the government believes this is what South Africa is asking of us now.*

[Venter] *I would like to touch on one or two other issues arising from the speech and you mentioned preparations being made, administrative actions being taken by the government and discussed by the president here in the period leading up to transition, and that essentially affects the areas of Own Affairs and education. There is a similar idea proposed for great changes in education and that is*

essentially the creation of a single education department. Just briefly, is that also now, to go in slightly ahead of the negotiating process, to create a single education department before a transition government?

[Meyer] *I think it's clear from the constitutional proposals of the government, the National Party, of most other parties that are participating in negotiations already, that we can foresee a situation where administrations like Own Affairs will not be part of the future dispensation in this country. So, on that assumption I think the time is now right to start and rationalize what is to be done in any case. It would be easier and better if we actually started doing it now, administratively. The arrangements that are now under discussion, that the state president has announced this morning, of course only reflect administrative rationalization and not necessarily constitutional rearrangements. That obviously must be part of the negotiating process and that can only be put in place once agreement has been reached on matters like the transitional constitution. So, it doesn't affect the political arrangement of the future but this is a very necessary, and I would say timeless arrangement and preparation actually for the future constitution.*

[Venter] *On a practical point the many ministers of Own Affairs in the tricameral system of housing, local government, education and so on—welfare is also one of the aspects—will now no longer have a function. What actually will happen to those individuals?*

[Meyer] *I must point out that the...[changes thought] I think it's significant that the state president announced these measures under the heading of economic and state expenditure, economic matters and state expenditure. So one of the aims that clearly comes out of this is the fact that through this the government is also trying to ensure that the state expenditure, wherever possible, should already now be cut wherever possible in terms of future rationalization, and it is obvious that a net effect of this would benefit the state coffers as far as the expenditure account is concerned. And in terms of this I think it would be too early, it would obviously be the prerogative of the state president to see how he's going to rearrange the political responsibilities of colleagues and so on, but I think that is obviously that will have to come following this.*

[Venter] *It is noticeable that you answered the question on what will happen to these individuals largely in terms of saving money, so there is going to be a financial cutback in terms of salaries and positions involved in this exercise.*

[Meyer] *Well, I can foresee that at the management level, be it political or administrative, there could be reducing expenditures following on this, but again I wouldn't like to speculate on what the net consequences would be because the state president...[changes thought] It would be his prerogative to decide on exactly how he's going to rearrange that.*

[Venter] I also want to touch on another aspect of this Own Affairs issue and also educational changes, and that is, it was clearly stated in the speech that much of Own Affairs will not merely be handed over to General Affairs, that is, in the central government, but will be handed over to regional authorities, and the same can also be said of the restructuring of the education system where regions will also accept greater responsibility for administration and decision-making on education. Is it not possible for the partners in the negotiation process to accuse you of dragging federalism through the back door before it is even discussed by the negotiating forum itself?

[Meyer] I think we have to distinguish once again between political and administrative restructuring. Essentially, what the president has announced and what lies ahead of us is the restructuring at the administrative level, that is, the redivision of functions at central level, and the handing down to regional and local level. Let us take a practical example to clarify that point: Health is one example that has been singled out. The handing down of health services to local level, for example, local health clinics, and so forth, is of course a necessity, and I believe there could be no objection in the political debate against this factor. But this does not say anything about the restructuring of the political structures of the future. This must remain part of negotiations and for this reason it will not be dealt with at this time. In other words, if we talk about the handing down of functions, then it is the handing down of functions at administrative level, to existing political structures, existing provincial authorities and existing local authorities, and nothing new will be put in its place because this is still subject to negotiation.

[Venter] Mr. Meyer, I think something that concerns people is the difficulty of determining what the quality of relationships are between the various parties—the government, the National Party, the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party, PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], and many others involved—because at times it seems as if the embrace couldn't be warmer. At other times, it might even be 24 hours later, it would seem that the relationship, the divorce, couldn't be more permanent and chillier. People wonder how much of this is political posturing, and how much is part of the power play. Now, against that background, it strikes one that the president said that many of the parties that you're negotiating with and are responsible for creating the violence—and he does not say so, but it is a reference to the ANC and the IFP and others who are taken as being involved—according to the president are not negotiating properly, responsibly, and in good faith. Now, that's quite a far-reaching accusation to make, three years down the negotiating line, at the people that you're negotiating with. To what degree do you back up that assertion that you are negotiating with people who are not talking back to you in good faith?

[Meyer] Can I try to make two points. First, as far as your general remark at the beginning is concerned: One must remember that we are negotiating among each other as

political opponents, and that means that although we are partners to the process, as far as negotiations are concerned, we remain political opponents whenever we sit down at the table. We have, in other words, a responsibility to keep the process together, yes, especially the major parties, I believe. But when it comes to raising our point of view, taking our positions at the negotiating table, we often do it differently. I think the public must understand this also. I can understand the dilemma often that appears from this, but the point is although we are negotiating partners, we remain political opponents, and I think that picture one must keep in mind all the time.

The point that the state president has referred to, that you have mentioned in the second part of your question: I would say that he was referring to political groupings who often actually stand outside the negotiating process, and who are responsible for making trouble. There are parties, obviously, who are still not part of the negotiating process, who create violence, who are responsible for attacks, and take responsibility for that. I think he mainly referred to those.

But it is also a question: If it's true what Judge Goldstone is saying in his report that the state president is referring to—namely, that part of the political violence is coming—or he said, in fact, primarily coming—from the conflict between ANC and IFP, then it is a matter for those parties to consider, and that is a judgment not coming from the state president, but coming from Judge Goldstone in his capacity as chairman of the commission. Then it is a major concern, because if that is true, it means we must urge those two parties—and of course, we are prepared to play a role in that as well—to get all parties together, at least under the set-up of the Peace Accord, to say, let's stop the political conflict through violence, and let's rather resolve the political conflict through negotiations and reaching a settlement through that. That is the only avenue.

[Venter] Minister, unfortunately we have only a short while, a few minutes, at our disposal. Let us move to the next point. The state president said good progress has been made in the discussions with other partners in the negotiation process, but he did not specifically say in what areas that progress was made. Could you identify those areas for us?

[Meyer] The first area of importance is that of preparing for the resumption of multiparty negotiations. The point there is that we have talked with the other important parties and groupings recently, and there is agreement among them as well as among other smaller parties with whom we have talked, that we must hold a multiparty planning conference as soon as possible, in order to resume Codesa, or whatever name it might take in the future. We are proposing that this planning conference take place as early as February, about 2 or 3 weeks from today. That is the one point on which progress was made. There are still a few stumbling blocks which we have to overcome there, but progress has been made.

The second area in which progress has been made is the more substantial debate on what we are going to discuss when multiparty negotiations are resumed. When Codesa again congregates and we start talking about the real issues surrounding the constitutional models, constitutional principles, and so on, it would be better if at that stage we can already identify common ground among the various parties, and the real points of difference, so that we can discuss them further. The recent bilateral discussions between ourselves and other parties have at least started identifying those points clearly. So, we are getting a clear idea of where we and the ANC or we and Inkatha agree, and where we differ. That advances the debate, and I think it is against that background that the president said he has much hope for 1993.

[Venter] *Mr. Minister, thank you very much for joining us.*

Meyer Disperses Rumor of Election Alliance With ANC

MB0102161293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1522 GMT 1 Feb 93

[By political correspondent Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Parliament February 2 SAPA—There was no possibility that the government and the ANC [African National Congress] would be allies in the coming elections, the minister of constitutional development, Mr. Roelf Meyer, said on Monday [1 February].

Speaking in the debate on the state president's opening speech he said no bilateral agreements had been entered into with the ANC which had not been made public.

"Malicious speculation that there is a secret agenda for talks, or that secret agreements have been, or are being concluded, is utter nonsense," he said.

The agenda for talks with the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] was similar to that with the ANC except that there was a backlog to catch up on.

"While the differences between the government and the ANC mostly deal with substantive constitutional issues, the differences with the IFP are mainly concerned with the process," he said.

He said ill-disposed commentators, who stupidly and opportunistically denigrated negotiations between the government and the ANC as the formation of alliances, were deliberately engaging in political misrepresentation.

Mr. Meyer then spelt out the government's position on constitutional principles it wanted built into a new constitution. These were the guidelines it had obtained a mandate for:

—a constitutional state with a bill of fundamental rights governing the relationships between citizen and state, and between the organs of government;

- constitutional continuity ensuring the existing order not being replaced by a new order in revolutionary fashion;
- a participatory democracy with power effectively distributed among parties in Parliament and the Cabinet;
- subsidiary, a principle ensuring government is brought as close as possible to the people, thus devolving functions to regional and local level;
- autonomy of civil society, protecting areas of social freedom from state intervention; and
- unity in diversity, implying a process of nation building which would fail unless diversity was respected.

Mandela on Need for Government of National Unity

MB2901173293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1613 GMT 29 Jan 93

[By Enrico Kemp]

[Text] Cape Town Jan 29 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] had no alternative but to form a government of national unity if it wanted to remain in power after winning a non-racial election, ANC President Nelson Mandela said in Cape Town on Friday.

He was addressing delegates at the Anglican Consultative Council Conference at the University of the Western Cape following a half-an-hour meeting with the visiting Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey.

Mr Mandela said a government of national unity was the only way to counter the "already insipient counter-revolutionary movement" in which elements of the security forces exploited tensions between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party in order to foment violence aimed at destabilising the ANC.

"To take political power in South Africa is easy. The most difficult thing is to retain that power," Mr Mandela said.

Critics of the ANC had to accept there was no alternative to a government of national unity. The critics included the National Party.

A new government would have to work with a civil service, police and defence force which had been established to defend apartheid.

While these services should exist to defend a future democracy, an ANC government could be destabilised in the interim.

Mr Mandela said the government and the ANC differed, however, on how a government of national unity should be structured.

"The government's concept of power sharing is to enable a white minority to retain power under a democratic government.

"We say the party which is able to get the majority of votes in an election should of its own accord invite other parties to share in government."

The ANC leader said the only link between the ANC and the SA Communist Party was a common objective of destroying racial oppression and establishing a non-racial government.

There was no ideological connection between the two movements and the alliance would very likely be terminated once the ANC became a political party.

He also praised the role of the church in supporting the struggle for democracy in the country, adding the ANC was committed to freedom of religion.

Dr Carey said the Anglican church was "passionately committed to justice and equality and shared the ANC's dream of a non-racial society in South Africa".

PAC Executive Calls for 'New Negotiating Forum'
MB0102201893 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1500 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] The PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] has called for a new negotiating forum. PAC Secretary General Benny Alexander says a new forum free from the flaws of Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] is needed for constitutional talks to resume. Alexander was speaking after a two-day PAC Executive Committee meeting. He says the organization has committed itself to a transfer of power through an elected constituent assembly, unfettered by bilateral dealings. Alexander says a new negotiating forum should consist only of political parties with a national character and should facilitate the realization of a constituent assembly rather than being a decision-making body. The PAC also wants such a forum to have a neutral international chairman.

Retains 'Military Option'

MB0102175593 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1400 GMT 01 Feb 93

[Text] The PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] has ended its first National Executive Committee [NEC] meeting for this year, with a statement expressing its preparedness to take part in constitutional talks leading to, as it put it, a democratic transfer of power. The meeting covered fundamental aspects of the transitional and electoral process.

Outlining the key issues at the meeting, PAC Secretary General Benny Alexander said the meeting had reaffirmed its adherence to the military option. However, the NEC recorded its grave concern at the escalation of violence and appealed for foreign intervention in the expulsion of mercenaries, who were singled out as one of the elements of the continuing armed conflict.

Referring to the series of bilateral consultations, Mr. Alexander said while they recognized the intense efforts

various parties put into the negotiations, the PAC would not be bound by their settlement deals.

PAC Official Criticizes OAU, ANC

MB3101195293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1917 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Umtata Jan 31 SAPA—Members and supporters of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in Transkei have been told to go from door to door begging for money and clothing for its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA). Speaking at the organisation's bi-annual regional conference in Umtata on Saturday [30 January], PAC Regional Secretary Zingisa Mkabile told delegates from 26 Transkei districts that the time had come that "we should support the armed struggle".

"Make it your commitment to go from door to door begging for money, clothing and other valuable material in aid of our boys at APLA," he urged. Mr Mkabile said it had become evident his organisation would never get financial support from the Organisation of Africa Unity (OAU), which had become critical of the PAC following recent reports of alleged APLA attacks.

He blamed the OAU for "selling out the black people of South Africa". He asked why the OAU had not asked the South African Government to "stop the killings and refrain from being observers while people are dying in scores".

He also questioned the wisdom of the ANC's [African National Congress] suspension of its armed struggle while people were dying. Instead of liberating the country, the ANC was "taking it back to the white regime", he alleged.

On the question of power-sharing, Mr Mkabile said a wall was being built around the interests of the white minority with the aid of the ANC.

Delegates to the conference strongly condemned the harassment of blacks by "racist settler police" along the Transkei borders with South Africa. The conference passed a resolution pledging commitment to the armed struggle and asking the public to make both financial and material contributions "for the furtherance of the armed struggle as waged by APLA".

It also resolved to continue the sit-in at the offices of the DAILY DISPATCH newspaper in Umtata, which entered its fifth day on Sunday, until management met the PAC's demands.

IFP Rejects Return to Codesa-Like Forum

MB0102092093 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0808 GMT 1 Feb 93

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by Office of the President of the Inkatha Freedom Party]

[Text] Ulundi, February 1, 1993—The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has noted the weekend press statements of ANC [African Congress Party] executive member, Mr Thabo Mbeki, with regard to his organization's perception that Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] will be reconvened and that participants will include the Conservative Party (CP) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

There is no question, whatsoever, of the Inkatha Freedom Party ever returning to any forum which in any way resembles Codesa and we very much doubt that any party not previously represented there would do so either.

The IFP has made it very clear to all concerned, and we have every reason to believe some others are like-minded, that we will not be bound by agreements, in part or in whole, which were constructed in isolation in various Codesa working groups and were mostly contingent on critical agreements in working group 2 which were not forthcoming.

The ANC/SACP [South African Communist Party] alliance smashed Codesa when they walked out and resorted to "mass action". Codesa is now dead and its tombstone was erected by the ANC/SACP alliance. It is history. We must now move forward having learned from past mistakes.

The IFP will not be going back to Codesa. What we have made clear is that we are now prepared to negotiate a multi-party planning conference which will structure the form, substance and all other modalities of entirely new future deliberations to follow thereafter. It is our understanding that we have reached preliminary consensus with the government in this regard.

Furthermore, the IFP has served notice that unless the issue of Umkhonto we Siswe [Spear of the Nation: ANC military wing] is satisfactorily disposed of in the early stages of these proceedings, there is no way in which our constituents will permit us to continue to reach final agreements. It is untenable that one of the negotiation partners has a private army, secret arms caches, and recruits and sends its members abroad to learn to efficiently and effectively kill and/or intimidate South African citizens. Such a situation, if allowed to continue, would make elections, the envisaged end product of the process as outlined, a complete farce.

Constitutional Minister on Transitional Efforts

MB0102101093 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0846
GMT 1 Feb 93

[By Pierre Claassen, political correspondent]

[Text] Cape Town February 2 SAPA—While the proposed transitional executive council to prepare for elections would not take over government, the government would not be able to ignore it, the minister of constitutional development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said on Monday.

Speaking at a media conference, he elaborated on constitutional and bilateral talks in general, but kept the details for his address to Parliament later in the day.

On a transitional constitution, which the government wanted and the ANC [African National Congress] did not, he said an elected constitution making body [CMB] would have the right to amend or replace a transitional constitution as long it retained the agreed constitutional principles.

"I do not think the intention at any stage is to limit the CMB except for the constitutional principles agreed to. It can draft a new constitution or it may be satisfied with the transitional constitution," he said.

The ANC's approach (not to have a transitional constitution) was embodied in a draft transition to democracy act which, along with the government's constitutional model, was under discussion.

He said the need for a transitional constitution had been agreed to in paragraph 2.B of the record of understanding reached with the ANC on September 26. A strong argument for it was that a bill of fundamental human rights could not be incorporated under the present constitution.

Implementation of the transitional executive council and its sub councils by June this year would not mean that the country then had a transitional government.

The exact authorities to be allocated to these councils had yet to be negotiated. There was disagreement with the ANC, and the government was working on the basis of the position reached by Codesa's [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] working group III.

In his view the councils would produce political interaction between parties and that there would be a formal and structured interaction between the councils and government.

"The council will therefore have a say in government decision-making in those areas of its responsibility which the government will not be able to ignore," Mr Meyer said.

On the issue of security forces he said a two-pronged approach was being followed.

The principle that no political party could have a private army had been universally accepted, but the government had to get the ANC to that point before entering the process of full democracy.

"But that can only be resolved if there is full credibility among all South Africans for the security forces."

Through negotiations he hoped a satisfactory situation would be reached—the disbanding of Umkhonto we Siswe [Spear of the Nation: ANC military wing] and full credibility for the security forces. Ultimately this could

only be attained through multi-party, not bilateral, talks as the security forces affected all South Africans.

The government also believed there should be agreement on the powers, functions and boundaries of regions, and that their position during the transition be clarified with a view to making the final constitution.

"In other words regional representatives should have a say with regard to their (regions') future."

Possible common ground on the principle of power-sharing was being explored with the ANC and IFP.

The ANC's opposition had shifted favourably in the last quarter of 1992 when it accepted the need to look at a government of national unity [GNU].

"There is growing agreement to the need for a GNU. Details have to be worked out, for example, on how to construct the executive.

"The question is what about thereafter, and how do we entrench powersharing in a final constitution and accommodate opposition parties?"

Ongoing discussion did not allow for further speculation at this stage.

Minister Pienaar on Preparations for Elections

MB0102164393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1230 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] Cape Town Feb 1 SAPA—An estimated 21.7 million voters were expected to take part in South Africa's first non-racial elections, the minister of home affairs, Mr. Louis Pienaar, said on Monday [1 February].

Addressing a parliamentary media briefing, he said about 7,000 polling stations manned by about 80,000 officials would be required.

Mr. Pienaar said 2.9 million people, of whom 2.5 million were black, still had to obtain identity documents to enable them to vote.

This figure excluded the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states, although, in terms of agreements reached at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], people living in the four independent states would also take part in a national poll.

He was confident his department would be able to process outstanding id documents before an election was held.

Voting would be based on proportional representation, not by constituency and therefore a national voters' roll would be unnecessary. Possible regional voters' rolls still had to be determined through negotiations.

Although an independent electoral commission to oversee elections had been agreed to at Codesa, the Department of Home Affairs was making preparations "to cover our own backs".

However, while negotiations continued, an interim electoral commission could be instituted to oversee arrangements for a non-racial election, Mr. Pienaar said.

CP Leader Discusses Self-Determination

MB0202061393 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1830 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Interview with Conservative Party leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht by South African Broadcasting Corporation reporter Freek Robinson in the parliamentary studio, Cape Town; date not given; on the "Agenda" program—recorded]

[Text] [Robinson] Dr. Treurnicht, I would first like to hear your reaction to the state president's address to Parliament, and in particular to his announcement that Own Affairs departments are to be abolished.

[Treurnicht] As you say, he touched on several issues. The abolition of Own Affairs is an important matter, but I think it's a step in the wrong direction. You see, the reality in this country is that there is a diversity, nations, ethnic groups, race groups. All over the world the right to self-determination is recognized. One black leader speaks about the self-determination right of groups. That is a very important principle which must be taken into account. With that as your point of departure—self-determination—Own Affairs becomes so important that it surprises one how eager the government is to remove it from the statute books, from practical politics, even before he has negotiated with the various parties.

[Robinson] If those departments are abolished, would you then say the option of a homeland is also lost?

[Treurnicht] No. On the contrary. The whole negotiation process is still in progress, and the state president has said this process with Own Affairs will go together with the negotiation process. The negotiations will fail badly if the government presses ahead with its present style. It is prejudicing developments by announcing that certain things are being done, certain things will be done, and then still continuing with negotiations. The negotiation process will fail if he ignores the Concerned South Africans Group, Cosag. He will be ignoring a very large percentage of the South African population, and he will fail in his negotiations.

[Robinson] Do you want to be part of the negotiations?

[Treurnicht] We are already part of the process. We did not take part in Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], for obvious reasons. Codesa failed, not because we refused to participate, but, I believe, because of the government and the ANC's [African National Congress] mistakes. Codesa failed, so it is senseless to

say we should return to it. But we have suggested to certain black leaders that an alternative negotiation forum be established. Codesa's basis was an undivided South Africa, central government, nonracial population. Codesa refused to think and speak in terms of nations. It had to fail. We say let's choose another forum and, instead of an undivided South Africa, think in terms of countries, states, regions which will be independent. On that basis you can then build political structures

[Robinson] Do you think it would be possible for you, as part of Cosag, to take part in discussions if the ANC and the South African Communist Party, SACP, are also involved?

[Treurnicht] That's what people are expecting—that those people will be there. But we say our participation in Cosag is on one basis. We have spelled it out. We said to one another that the point of departure for Cosag is that Codesa no longer exists; we are not going back to Codesa; we reject a unitary state, a single state with one central government; and we reject a single constitution for all, and a single election for all. We reject that.

[Robinson] But as part of Cosag, would you be prepared to talk with other parties such as the ANC and the SACP?

[Treurnicht] Let me put it this way: From the start we said we want nothing to do with the ANC; we owe them nothing; the ANC does not control our rights and our freedom; we don't have to go and beg for that from them. In fact, Mr. Robinson, I would like to ask the question: Who is the ANC? It has been blown up into an important partner and co-decision-maker on the future of South Africa. It does not deserve that importance. It's support is untested, and I believe there is information which indicates that its support is in fact much less than we are made to believe.

[Robinson] But it is a role-player. I am not here to speak for anyone, certainly not for the ANC. But you will remember that you said in the past that you would not speak with the ANC or the SACP at all. I am now asking you: As part of Cosag, would you be prepared to talk with them, on your own terms?

[Treurnicht] On our terms? Very well. But our terms are more detailed than you believe. We say we don't want to seek out the ANC; we do not recognize them as the power which must decide on our future. But we have also said we will not allow the presence of the ANC or any one of its members to prevent us from being where we want to be to state our case and defend our case. The ANC will not keep us away. And let me add: Before any discussion can get going, we have certain non-negotiables. One of these is the acceptance of the principle of self-determination, the acceptance of the diversity of peoples, and the acceptance of the right of the Afrikaners to their freedom.

[Robinson] What are your minimum demands for self-determination? Must it be within a confederation or could it also be within a federation?

[Treurnicht] According to some people's use of the word, federation has such a fluid definition that those who favor a federation demand so much power within the state that it almost boils down to an independent state. We want a confederation. We want full political independence and freedom.

[Robinson] As an independent state?

[Treurnicht] As an independent state. An independent state with its own government. Then, we say, economic interdependence is possible, as within a commonwealth, and as within the European Community. Economic interdependence, and there can be many areas of cooperation with others. But those would be functions delegated to a body without threatening the independence of such a state.

[Robinson] Doctor, let's be practical. It seems politics is moving in the direction of an election for an interim government. Assuming that happens—and that's the direction we're moving in, we know that—will you participate in such an election?

[Treurnicht] Before the government can decide on such an election, it is committed to negotiate. It has hardly started negotiating with Cosag. And I can assure you that among Cosag members there is unanimity: We will not take part in a one man, one vote election for the whole of South Africa, because then the minorities, the smaller groups, will be engulfed immediately.

[Robinson] Not for an interim government, nor for what follows?

[Treurnicht] Not for an interim government, nor for what comes later. We want self-determination for our people, that is, a nation must govern itself in its own country. KwaZulu has taken the lead. I don't want to say I agree....

[Robinson, interrupting] But not an independent state. They have another point of view.

[Treurnicht] I don't say I agree with every detail of their plan, but if they demand legislative and executive authority for themselves, with no other authority above them, and their own defense force, and budget, and territory, then they have all the elements of self-determination built into their proposals.

[Robinson] Dr. Treurnicht, Mr. Gerber, your spokesman on education, said today that unless the government changes its position regarding a single education department you will consider disciplinary measures. What does that mean?

[Treurnicht] We will begin with an education congress and then we will organize our people into resisting the

implementation of a system which we think will only boil down to national suicide for the Afrikaner.

[Robinson] What disciplinary measures?

[Treurnicht] Well, we will still decide on that detail. We will decide on that depending on the circumstances, but we would like to see a peaceful and orderly dispensation in our country. And we beseech the government not make it difficult for its own people to live in peace, and to manage their own education system.

AWB Rejects De Klerk Proposal on Defense Unit

MB0202083993 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 0500 GMT 2 Feb 93

[Text] The AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] says it is unthinkable that the members of the movement would be willing to serve with members of the ANC's [African National Congress] military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation, MK], in the same self-defense unit.

The AWB Leader, Mr. Eugene Terreblanche, was reacting to a proposal by the state president that the two organizations be incorporated into one self-defense unit. Mr. Terreblanche said the AWB regarded members of MK as trained terrorists and did not negotiate with the ANC. However, he said the AWB stood by its offer to fight alongside the police and the defense force.

Seven National Party MP's Sworn In

MB2901132193 Johannesburg SABA in English 1122
GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Parliament January 29 SABA—Six National Party [NP] MPs were sworn in in the House of Assembly on Friday, and one in the House of Representatives.

The new white MPs are Mr Gustav du Toit, in Vanderbijlpark former seat of ex-minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Mr Basie Coetzee (Durbanville), Prof Abraham Janse van Rensburg (Bethlehem), Mr N. J. Jansen van Rensburg (Umfolozo), Mr Dirk Bakker (Helderkruid, seat of the former secretary general of the NP Dr Stoffel van der Merwe) and Mr Issie Pinshaw (nominated).

In the Representatives, Pastor H.G. Jansen was sworn in in Britstown for the National Party.

CP Members Walk Out

MB2901195593 Johannesburg SABA in English 1803
GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Parliament Jan 29 SABA—The Conservative Party [CP] caused a stir in the House of Assembly on Friday when its members walked out of the chamber just before six new members of Parliament were sworn in minutes after the parliamentary session began, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reported.

In a statement concerning the walkout CP Chief Whip Frank le Roux said the protest had been staged against the fact that five new MP's had been nominated in an "undemocratic and dictatorial method" to represent constituencies without by-elections.

The five new MP's were nominated in terms of the filling of casual vacancies in parliament act, which was approved by parliament during the short parliamentary session last year.

The act obviates the need for by-elections.

Courts Said 'Stripping' Gqozo of 'Autocratic Powers'

MB3101084093 Johannesburg NEW NATION in
English 29 Jan-4 Feb 93 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Tearing down Gqozo's laws"]

[Text] With little ado, courts in Ciskei are quietly establishing their authority and defending the first Bill of Rights in force in South Africa.

In a series of landmark cases, they have struck down decrees and laws which contradict the territory's Bill of Rights.

In doing so, they are not only stripping away Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's autocratic powers one by one, but are also laying the foundation for a future enforceable human rights culture in the country as a whole.

At the heart of the rulings lie Ciskei's Bill of Rights and Responsibilities.

Curiously, the repressive homeland has the most progressive and justifiable constitution in the country, drafted by civil rights lawyers during the early enlightened period of the Gqozo administration.

Whether the military ruler likes it or not, it is there to stay.

Keith Matthee, a lawyer who co-authored the constitution, is ecstatic: "It's extremely exciting because it's an investment for the future." The fact that Ciskei is likely soon to be absorbed back into South Africa was "irrelevant" to this achievement.

"This process is one of building up a Bill of Rights jurisprudence for the new South Africa," said Matthee, who briefly served as Gqozo's Minister of Justice until falling out with the brigadier.

The Ciskei cases are adding to the body of precedent that courts will use, even in the new South Africa.

The process has gained its own momentum:

—The Bisho Supreme Court is currently considering an ANC [African National Congress] application to have Section 43 of Ciskei's National Security Act declared

invalid. Under the law, unsanctioned public meetings have been banned by magistrates or broken up by police.

—Late last year, the Appeal Court [AC] ruled that Section 26 of the same security law—allowing for indefinite detention without trial—was in conflict with basic human rights.

—Days later, the AC threw out sections of a decree which indemnified Gqozo against all legal actions and damages claims arising out of the Lennox Sebe era.

—And in the weeks ahead, the same court will consider overturning another controversial decree passed by Gqozo to avoid testifying before a politically explosive inquest.

The overturning of the detention legislation is especially significant. Ciskei now leads Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and the rest of South Africa, where laws equivalent to Section 26 remain on the statute books.

The first known victim of Ciskei's detention laws was an intemperate soldier responsible for the collapse of a staff flying the Ciskeian flag at the homeland's independence celebrations in 1981.

The last; ironically, was a young security policeman detained late last month on suspicion of being an ANC member. In the intervening years, tens of thousands of people, mostly political activists opposed to the Sebe and Gqozo governments, fell victim to Section 26.

A few months ago, the wife of a Seymour detainee brought the Supreme Court application to have the law declared null and void. It has been found to be inconsistent with section three of the Bill of Rights incorporated in Ciskei's 1991 constitution: "No person shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or denial of bail."

Section 26 was the first piece of pre-1990 coup legislation in Ciskei to be successfully challenged. The decision has prepared the ground for further action against the alleged infringement of rights in homeland legislation inherited from South Africa.

Discrimination against women and corporal punishment are just two likely targets for creative lawyers in the region. The possibilities are endless.

It is not just the baggage from the Sebe era that is being cleared away. Two decrees introduced by Gqozo have also come under scrutiny.

An important clause in the constitution gives the Supreme Court competence to question the validity of any decree passed since the coup. In South Africa, Parliament remains sovereign and the Supreme Court can only challenge laws in terms of procedures followed.

Last year residents of the rural Chalumna area brought actions against the government for unlawful arrests and assaults by police just months before Sebe was ousted.

A trial date had already been set when Gqozo issued the decree indemnifying his government from liability in such actions.

The Appeal Court is also considering a decree which ensures that Gqozo is not compelled to give evidence in court.

Charles Sebe, estranged brother of Lennox, and Colonel Onward Guzana, formerly Gqozo's right-hand man, were shot dead by Ciskeian troops in January 1991.

The ongoing inquest into their deaths has heard allegations that the brigadier ordered, or at least incited, their murder. Gqozo made attempts to wriggle out of answering the accusations in court.

Apart from the decree, he submitted affidavits variously declaring his innocence and explaining his inability to attend the hearing.

In this and in other cases, Gqozo has displayed a propensity to manipulate the constitution to suit himself. He even tried to have the Bill's entrenching clause itself overturned.

The courts have been unimpressed.

Again, the Bill of Rights is the prism through which the decree is being scrutinised: the right of equality before the law, and the right to a fair trial.

If the Appeal Court overturns the decree, Gqozo will be subpoenaed to testify when the inquest resumes next month. A noteworthy achievement of the Ciskei constitution is the unassailability of the Bill of Rights. It cannot be amended or repealed without a referendum achieving a majority of two-thirds.

"In the new South Africa we will have a Bill of Rights, which at the very least will incorporate the rights enshrined in the present Ciskei one," said Matthee.

"This is why what's happening in Bisho now is so important."

How this will effect the process of incorporation of Ciskei is not yet clear.

In practice, however, the importance of the swift reincorporation of the homelands will probably overrule any legalistic nitpicking on this issue.

The major challenge ahead is to make the Bill of Rights accessible to ordinary people. Ignorance must be overcome.

The main restraint is financial. Lawyers have argued for the appointment of a Namibian-style Ombudsman, accountable only to the constitution, who can bring actions against infringements on behalf of an entire class or group of people.

Ciskei may have a far more positive impact on the national constitutional process than many could have imagined.

Even Brigadier Gqozo should have no complaint about that.

Ciskei Official on Reincorporation, Other Issues

*MB3101204593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2002
GMT 31 Jan 93*

[Text] East London Jan 31 SAPA—Ciskei would not be re-incorporated into South Africa—and nor would the homeland be ruled by the courts, despite the recent scrapping of legislation requiring that permission be granted prior to marches and meetings. This was the message from the homeland's new minister of foreign affairs and general secretary of the African Democratic Movement [ADM], Mr Tamsanqa Linda, at a public meeting in Mdanstane in the homeland on Sunday [31 January]. "We will never go for re-incorporation," he said.

He told an estimated 300 people at the meeting that although the ADM would represent Ciskei in future negotiations, it would not join any negotiating forum similar to Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa].

Mr Linda said the Ciskei Government was unperturbed over last week's court scrapping of Section 43 of its National Security Act which regulated the holding of public meetings. "We will come up with something else tomorrow because we are your government. Ciskei is not being run by the courts," he said. Mr Linda's announcement came despite his government on Friday welcoming the decision, saying it showed the courts were independent of government.

Mr Linda then referred to attempts being made to call Ciskei ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo to appear before the Sebe-Guzana inquest. He said the nation would revolt if Brig Gqozo was made to appear at the inquest, which is inquiring into the deaths of alleged coup leaders. A decree which prohibits Brig Gqozo from being called before a court is currently being tested in the homeland's supreme court.

Mr Linda also hit out at the United Nations, whose observers were at Sunday's meeting. "We have no respect for the UN. The UN sold our countries to the communists. Their presence will aggravate an already bad situation in our country. We can govern ourselves without outside interference." The UN observers at the meeting were repeatedly welcomed by various speakers.

The foreign affairs minister also accused the African National Congress [ANC]-led alliance of collaborating with the South African Government which had earlier "killed many of its followers". He said State President F W de Klerk was a lost sheep who did not know what he

was controlling; and that ANC leader Nelson Mandela was a "stooge" of the South African Communist Party.

Mr Linda alleged that Transkei military ruler, Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa, had no initiative but imitated others.

He claimed the ANC leadership was living in luxury while its followers were unemployed and living in shacks.

In response to Mr Linda's allegations, the ANC's border publicity secretary, Mr Mcebisi Bata, said statements made by the ADM were not worth commenting on because ADM members had proved to be working for Military Intelligence. Ciskei was wasting its time resisting re-incorporation because South Africa was going to be a unitary state which would include the homeland, Mr Bata said.

Mr Ray Qunta, publicity secretary of the Mdantsane Residents' Association Branch said the poor attendance of Sunday's rally proved the organisation had no support.

Gqozo Responds to Linda's Statement

*MB0202051793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2111
GMT 1 Feb 93*

[Text] Bisho Feb 1 SAPA—Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo on Monday [1 February] repudiated a speech by his Foreign Minister Tamsanqa Linda, in which the newly-appointed minister rejected the rule of the territory's courts.

In a speech in Mdantsane on Sunday, Mr. Linda also attacked United Nations observers for alleged bias and said the South African Government and the African National Congress had collaborated to assassinate Ciskei Government supporters.

Brig Gqozo said in his statement the Ciskei Council of State believed "an independent judiciary is indispensable in order to ensure that the rule of law is upheld at all times".

Turning to the UN, he said the organisation was respected internationally and known for its impartiality, and the Ciskei Government distanced itself from statements which had challenged this.

Brig Gqozo said the allegation of collaboration between the ANC and the SA Government to kill members of Ciskei's ruling African Democratic Movement was "devoid of any truth".

De Klerk Salutes Gen Malan's Service

*MB0102164993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1540
GMT 1 Feb 93*

[Text] Pretoria Feb 1 SAPA—State President F W de Klerk on Monday [1 February] confirmed Water Affairs

and Forestry Minister Magnus Malan had informed him some time ago that he intended to resign from the Cabinet this year.

Reacting to the controversial former defence minister's resignation on Sunday, Mr de Klerk expressed his appreciation for Gen Malan's years of "faithful and efficient" service to his country and to the National Party government. As chief of the Army and later as defence minister, Gen Malan had played a leading role in building a professional force which had commanded respect beyond South Africa's borders. In his capacity as chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Assembly he had done valuable work in laying the ground for the rationalisation and phasing out of own affairs, said the president.

ANC Welcomes Resignation

MB0102164893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1257 GMT 1 Feb 93

[SAPA PR wire service issued by the African National Congress Department of Information and Publicity on 1 Feb]

[Text] The African National Congress [ANC] welcomes the belated resignation of General Magnus Malan from the National Party Cabinet. General Malan should have been retired long ago. His presence in the Cabinet after he left the minister of defence continued to raise questions about the government's commitment to negotiate in good faith and deal decisively with those in the security forces involved in under-mining the transition process.

General Malan's resignation should however, not divert attention from the fact that it was under his control that the SADF [South African Defense Force] initiated a large number of secret projects which brought untold harm to our country. For example it was during his term as minister of defence that the notorious CCB [Civil Cooperation Bureau] was established. Speculation abounds that General Malan is trying to extract himself from the security related scandals that are rocking the National Party and the Defence Force. The people of South Africa should not allow this to happen. These matters must be the subject of thorough independent investigation. General Malan's resignation does not absolve him from the very real political and personal responsibility that he has to bear.

It is a measure of the cynical and self-serving style that characterised Malan's political career that he is now abandoning the sinking ship of the National Party, as press reports indicate, having stayed on board just long enough to meet the 12 year period that qualifies him for a full pension, equal to his salary—a wacking R[and]180,000 a year.

ANC To Launch Newspaper, Magazines By June

MB3101142493 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 31 Jan 93 p 1

[Report by Charlene Smith: "ANC to launch its own press empire"]

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] is to launch a daily newspaper and three magazines by June with massive support from local and overseas businessmen.

One of the top backers is multi-millionaire Tiny Rowland, a close friend of ANC chairman Oliver Tambo and former head of Lonrho [London-Rhodesia company], which owns the Observer newspaper in London.

A 15-member Nigerian delegation led by Chief Abiola, head of the Nigerian stock exchange, a newspaper owner and head of several companies, arrives in Johannesburg tomorrow night to discuss final details of a proposed weekly news magazine.

A number of top South African companies have been approached to invest in the business. Insurance giant Sanlam says it is considering a proposal.

The ANC and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] have been planning the launch for more than two years, but they still refuse to comment publicly.

In addition to a daily newspaper and a weekly news magazine, the ANC is planning an up-market women's magazine.

The ANC has begun accelerating the launch date with an eye to the elections which are expected to take place early next year.

ANC Spokesman Comments

MB3101160593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1004 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Johannesburg Jan 31 SAPA—The publications to be launched in the future "are not ANC [African National Congress] publications", but "democratic publications", the African National Congress said on Sunday [31 January]. Reacting to media reports that the organisation was to launch a daily newspaper and three magazines in June, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the reports were "incorrect and misleading".

"The ANC will only facilitate the launching of the publications. The publications will in no way be ANC-owned and no firm date has been set," said Mr Niehaus. Mr Niehaus said it was hoped other parties might be interested in the venture and join in facilitating the creation of a "democratic press".

He confirmed a 15-member Nigerian delegation headed by Chief Abiola, head of the Nigerian Stock Exchange, newspaper owner and owner of several companies, will arrive in Johannesburg on Monday to "discuss and consult" about the matter.

Angola

UNITA Denies Using Mercenaries

MB0102171593 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] The Luanda government intends to deceive the international community with false allegations of mercenaries fighting alongside the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. After rigging the elections held on 29 and 30 September last year, the government has been engaging in many maneuvers to sacrifice the democratic values of the Angolan people, who strive for a change of regime in the country.

Now that the government is facing defeat on the battlefield, once again it is accusing the Republic of Zaire and South Africa of intervening in the Angolan conflict. The issue becomes more serious when the government accuses mercenaries like Bob Denard of having led mercenaries in the capture of Soyo. At the UN headquarters in New York, Venancio de Moura, foreign minister of the government of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, shamelessly lied when he said that Bob Denard masterminded the capture of Soyo. To confirm this lie, it has been learned from reliable sources that Bob Denard was arrested yesterday on his arrival in France from South Africa where he had sought refuge. It is now known that the government is spreading these lies as a pretext for recruiting foreign troops to keep Communism in Angola.

Zairian Envoy Denies Involvement in War

MB3001145493 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] The following is a report from the Portuguese news agency, LUSA:

The Zairian ambassador in Luanda denies his country is involved in the Angola war. Mondinde Dede Talengo, Zaire's ambassador in Luanda, told LUSA that the Angolan Government has never officially accused Zaire of supporting the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] militarily. He said the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT] government has always accused Zaire of (?responsibility) whenever Angola is in a difficult situations.

Delving into Angola's political past, the ambassador recalled that the MPLA-PT accused the Zairian Government of having formed the Angola National Liberation Front, FNLA, led by Angolan Holden Roberto. He said that the MPLA has tried to prove to Angolan and international public opinion that the FNLA ate human beings. Mondinde added: Today, we see that the FNLA is an Angolan political party that has been legalized by the Supreme Court, and that some of its former members are in the MPLA Central Committee and are even cabinet ministers. So far, none of them have eaten their colleagues.

The ambassador noted that Zaire and Angola maintain diplomatic relations and that the two countries have established a joint defense and security commission, though the latter has never been informed about (?our involvement with UNITA). He added: All we know is obtained through the Angolan media. The diplomat said he believed the two countries resent each other and [words indistinct].

Ambassador Mondinde said: We have noticed that the Angolan Government uses unreliable sources to substantiate its accusations, adding that fishermen and villagers (?should not be used) to slander a country that is always open for consultations.

The Zairian diplomat added that whenever the MPLA wins a battle, it never complains. If it loses a battle, however, the MPLA always accuses someone, and as usual it is Zaire. He asked: How can fishermen and villagers distinguish between Zairian soldiers from the guerrillas of UNITA's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] if they all wear similar uniforms and [words indistinct] the Zairian ambassador said that elements wearing the uniforms of the Angolan National Police press-ganged a considerable number of former Katangese soldiers to fight alongside government forces against UNITA in Caxito. Mondinde added: That was (?disclosed) to us by the wives of those soldiers.

The ambassador then said: The government claimed that Savimbi sought refuge in Zaire and that it had proof of that. Hours later, we heard Savimbi talking from Huambo to a Portuguese radio service.

The Zairian diplomat said that in view of all those unfounded accusations, we can only conclude that the government is intent on confusing Angolan and international public opinion, the purpose of which only the MPLA-PT knows. As a result of those accusations, the (?government ignores) the countless human rights violations carried out in Luanda last week by elements linked to the police as well as residents against Angolan citizens born in northern Angola and Zairians. Ambassador Mondinde (?challenged) the Angolan Government to explain to Angolan and international public opinion [words indistinct]. The assailants carried the same weapons and they acted simultaneously in every Luanda marketplace. The ambassador asked: How was that possible? Who gave the weapons, machetes, and knives?

The ambassador then went on to mention the case of 37-year-old Zairian citizen [name indistinct] who was raped by seven policemen. She has, meanwhile, been transferred to Zaire. He also mentioned the case of Doma Dongala, who was raped in the presence of her husband and children. The rapists then killed her husband.

Ambassador Mondinde said: That is sad. Zaire is a hospitable country and will do its best to ensure that Angolans living there will have everything at their disposal and that no harm is done to them.

Government To Auction Foreign Currency*MB0202082493 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 2 Feb 93*

[Text] The Angolan Government wants to make corrections to its economic program. Yesterday, it announced it will open a public foreign currency auction to bring the foreign exchange rate to a position of macroeconomic equilibrium.

Antonio Furtado, Finance Ministry national treasury director, has said those corrections are intended to lighten the balance of payments deficit, achieve an acceptable growth rate, and stabilize the market prices.

In a lecture he delivered at the ANGOP headquarters in Luanda yesterday, Antonio Furtado noted that, under current conditions, it will be extremely difficult to reduce military spending. He said military spending might in fact increase, should the military situation worsen.

Asked about a possible devaluation of the kwanza, Furtado said the national currency must stay at an intermediate rate between the official rate and the parallel market's rate.

Without quoting any source, VOA reported last night that the Angolan Government was preparing economic measures drastically to devalue the national currency. VOA reported that, as a result of those measures, the kwanza would be worth 14 times less.

Move Linked to Recent Fighting*MB0102131493 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1000 GMT 1 Feb 93*

[Text] In Angola a drastic currency devaluation is expected to intensify unrest in the capital, Luanda. The Angolan Government announced the devaluation yesterday. The move will cause prices of (important) necessities to rise and will bring the official exchange rate into line with black market rates. It is said to be (caused) by the government's loss of oil and diamond producing regions [word indistinct] into rebels in recent fighting. [Words indistinct] heavy battles between UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and government troops yesterday in the central city of Huambo.

UNITA's Valentim Proposes Federation*MB0202080193 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0515 GMT 2 Feb 93*

["Introduction to national debate" by Dr. Jorge Alicerces Valentim, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola information secretary, in Huambo on 1 February—recorded]

[Excerpts] Dear colleagues in the Information Ministry and in the Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel: My respectful compliments for the work you have been doing nationally and internationally.

Dear compatriots, media organs, and international observers: Before saying anything else, I would like to say that Angola's current crisis deserves an in-depth, dispassionate and head-on analysis that will allow us to look into the country's main problems, to search for truth, and to find a feasible and lasting solution that will guarantee real peace and happiness in Angola. [passage omitted]

What is the current condition of the Angolan state? To respond directly to that question, the Angolan State has disappeared. The definition of state includes responsibility for protecting citizens, guaranteeing essential public services, and ensuring our people are not the victims of the very organizations they created. The following fundamental rights are no longer privileges enjoyed by the Angolan people: the guarantee of life; individual and general freedoms; political and social demonstrations; the opportunity for constituted bodies to carry out their normal duties; and guarantees that all Angolan people are, and will be, protected by their fatherland, and that they are free to circulate in any part of Angolan territory. The state has disappeared. Its disappearance has led to the appearance of a handful of men who are acting as a government. They manipulate institutions and are doing nothing to benefit the Angolan people. Their mission is to repress those who do not agree with their erroneous conception of how (to govern) the nation and use its public property. [passage omitted]

What are the consequences of the highly centralized experience provided by the current Angolan State? In practical terms, the experience of a highly centralized Angolan State can only lead to regional hegemony by Luanda, the capital, and the people who come from that area. They are oppressing and murdering other compatriots, who are perceived to be foreigners and enemies. The country's essential wealth is benefitting Luanda alone. Those who are not from Luanda do not feel safe in the capital. Even foreigners are the targets of such excessive behavior by self-styled Luandans. The others are regarded as less developed [words indistinct] or from the Bailundo tribe. We must be courageous enough to give things their right names.

Our aim is to rectify things so we can save Angola. It is better to save Angola than to support a tyrannical state which does not benefit anyone [words indistinct] of the Angolan Nation. (It is) creating hatred and is ruining the country's wealth. What we have in Angola is an oligarchic republic, very nearly an absolutist [word indistinct] monarchy. The citizens who are selected to govern come from one area and one tribe only. The other areas are relegated to the background and are only good to produce the wealth that keeps the capital city going. In Luanda and Malange, all those who are not Kimbundu people are killed off, hunted down, and humiliated, despite the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] politicians who later turn up lamenting those occurrences and sharing words of piety. They blame those acts on misguided people who are controlled by the government. They are criminals who act irrationally, but they are also government agents doing what the government orders them to do.

Because of that political and social stagnation; because of the wrong philosophical concept of the state and of the very system of government, everything in Angola is divided. There is rupture within society. What is more, even families have been affected by these developments. Churches—whether they be Catholic, Protestant, or other contemporary religious sects—are not blameless in the face of all these problems of division and poor governance. Oppression, persecution, murders, and the abandonment of areas outside Luanda in the north, east, center, and south of Angola, are leading to greater social and economic backwardness in those areas, and causing a real rift along the lines of two divergent social structures, irrespective of the fact that they inhabit the same state territory. On one hand, you have Angolans who can govern, can have privileges, benefit from the state, and receive benefits from the state; on the other hand, you have the populace who is there to serve, the abandoned, the condemned, and the oppressed.

The current war has been so devastating that poorly informed international observers can hardly analyze how clearly it has demonstrated the depth of division among our people. There are cases [words indistinct] receiving constant privileges from the regime. Those are the Angolans with a capital A. They prefer to travel to Mussulo Island, or to the Cape, in South Africa, with foreigners rather than with their own Angolan brethren. This does not mean that we approve of the current regime's xenophobia against foreigners, notably defenseless Zairians. To be a Zairian in Luanda is to be have been born in Uige or Zaire Provinces, to be an Angolan in the Republic of Zaire, like the Zairian citizens themselves. [sentence as heard] Angola was once a hospitable and sisterly country. Today, it is the [word indistinct] of Africa, a hell for Angolan people and for certain foreigners.

What must we do? We must introduce debate. The Angolan Provinces must be politically, socially, and economically rehabilitated. They must be developed. The government of those provinces must have the consent of the local people. There is no need for functionaries or bureaucrats from Luanda, who hardly feel anything for the areas they are in. Let us look at Benguela Province, for example: The large majority of the people in the province support UNITA. This was demonstrated in the elections, which we know to have been fraudulent and to have suffered from irregularities. Even so, it was impossible to prevent UNITA's victory. Nevertheless, the current provincial leaders, beginning with the governor himself, who behaves like a great tyrant and a fascist, allows our compatriots to be mercilessly killed in Lobito, Catumbel, and Benguela every single day. Benguela is a killing field today. The wards that saw us born are now coming under intense heavy artillery and aircraft fire.

The city of Huambo continues to come under constant fire from MPLA aircraft. The aim is not to leave a single building standing. This is a crime against mankind and it is reaching incredible proportions: The very house that is occupied by our beloved President Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi was targeted and hit by the MPLA air force. We

heard the pilots who bombed his residence say among themselves: The target is that third house, the most beautiful one, the white house. That was no mistake. It was not a fortuitous accident. It was part of a plan devised by the leadership of the government and of the MPLA Party.

Men and women are being murdered in all parts of country simply because they support UNITA. This happens in Luanda, Malange, Ndalatando, Uige, Luena, Saurimo, Lubango, Namibe, Sumbe, Menongue, and other areas. (?No) Angolan can feel sure about life. There is an ongoing genocide and it is happening in every corner of the country. There are constant killings. Angola is becoming a chronic blood lake. Thus, we need a different shape for the Angolan state that will save the country and allow at least the preservation of ties among Angolans that will eventually permit the reestablishment of the national solidarity that marked the anticolonial struggle of the 1950's and 1960's. The truth lies somewhere between federation and confederation. Some powers must be left to a federate or confederate government that will be under the control of the component states. I know already that certain compatriots who enjoy many state privileges will naively shout: That is secession!

All that is the result of poor scientific thinking [words indistinct] Angola will always be an indivisible one. Inside its borders, though, it will have a different state shape where men will feel freer, where [word indistinct] balanced and harmonious, where man will be respected, where churches will practice freely, where leaders will be chosen in a clear and [word indistinct] manner, and where force will not be the rule of governance. [passage omitted, including an indistinct passage]

The ceremonial stage is over. The stage of individual and collective freedoms, of protection for all human beings, has arrived. They will raise the matter of the Bicesse Accords. They will raise the matter of the September 1992 elections. Because they are intellectually lazy, they forget the country has been aflame for more than 30 years.

We have opened a debate. Those who have appropriate ideas, a sense of patriotism, a proven intellectual grounding, and who feel for the people's suffering and anxieties, let us all, inside and outside the country, raise the debate on the crisis and war in Angola.

May Angola, our fatherland, be saved. It deserves a happy fate. May the killing of Angolan people stop once and for all. Let there be a just and lasting peace in Angola. Let there be freedom, progress, and fraternity among all Angolans, irrespective of their tribes, races, and social backgrounds for the good of the people and for the general good.

Carneiro Hints at Increased Fighting

MB0102210693 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] Angola could experience an intensification of violence in the coming days. General Higinio Carneiro of the Angolan Armed Forces [FAA] hinted that there would be an intensification of military actions in the

country because the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] did not want to sign a cease-fire in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

[Begin recording] [Carneiro] I believe there is only one language for UNITA and that is force. Accordingly, UNITA must understand that it must adopt a different stand, that we should not continue on the path of war, and that we should bring a lasting peace to the Angolan people.

[Unidentified reporter] You say that UNITA only understands the language of force. Does that mean that the government will also answer with force?

[Carneiro] Certainly. When we came here, we did not declare a truce. UNITA will do all it can to see that it gains positions enabling it to negotiate from a position of strength. This being the case, the government will have to react.

[Reporter] Does it mean that until 10 February we shall experience an intensification of war in Angola?

[Carneiro] I believe so. I would like the Angolan people to prepare themselves for the worst. We have been warning that words are not enough with UNITA. Other methods are necessary to force it to reconsider its stand and follow a more peaceful path. [end recording]

Government-UNITA Fighting Continues

UNITA Reports Victories

MB0202060793 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 2 Feb 93

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola's [UNITA] Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] have been courageously and firmly fighting to defend the fatherland, real freedom, and genuine democracy for the Angolan people. They have been fighting all warmongering operations by Eduardo dos Santos' men, the so-called People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA]-Riot Police [Policia Anti-motim] troops. In Cuanza Sul Province's Quilenda District, a FAPLA battalion was ordered by its chief of general staff to use weapons to take that UNITA-controlled area on 31 January. That FAPLA military operation failed completely. Once again, the FALA forces dealt heavy blows to the enemy forces. Many FAPLA soldiers were killed and many others captured. In their hasty flight, those FAPLA soldiers are acting in cowardly fashion and setting alight civilian homes, public installations, and religious centers.

The FALA chief of General Staff for the Central Front has told Jardim Chiquito Prata, a Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel [Vorgan] reporter, that our forces attacked and took the main Riot Police barracks in [name indistinct], where Governor Luis Paulino dos Santos was hiding. After two hours of heavy clashes, the

FALA forces completely uprooted the enemy. Eighty-five enemy soldiers are confirmed killed. All their equipment was captured, including 12 tanks, military vehicles, mortars, cannons, rocket launchers, light rifles, shells, and ammunition. There was also an impressive number of wounded: more than 150, including Governor Luis Paulino dos Santos, who was grievously wounded and is unlikely to survive.

Desertions in the enemy's ranks are increasing, following defeats on the battleground. Dozens of FAPLA soldiers daily turn themselves in to the UNITA committees in Andulo, Calucingue, and Mucende areas. In line with our African tradition, those enemy forces are being given humane treatment and hospitality.

Jose Eduardo dos Santos has ordered his lackeys in Namibe Province's Chibia District to force the local people to hunt down or shoot dead all those who identify with UNITA. To that end, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT] has once again handed firearms to the people so they can replay the sad incidents of Luanda, where people were hunted down.

Witnesses in Chibia have said this was a cowardly and vindictive move by the Futungo de Belas Palace because of the defeats its forces have been suffering on the ground.

Eduardo dos Santos' armed men continue to claim lives among defenseless people in the cities of Benguela, Lobito, and Baia Farta. Our correspondent in Talamanjamba, some 20 km from the capital of Benguela Province, reports manhunts in those cities have reached frightening proportions. Peaceful citizens are being massacred for having links with UNITA. Others have been sought for having visited a UNITA branch in one of those cities some time ago. Meanwhile, an average of 10 people are being detained daily. Our correspondent reports that, in line with what happened in Luanda, detained UNITA sympathizers are being forced to read speeches written by Benguela Provincial Governor Paulo Jorge.

Luanda Provincial Governor Goncalves Muandumba recently ordered the execution of 27 UNITA soldiers and sympathizers. Muti Iacavela, Vorgan correspondent in the area, reported yesterday that Mr. (Luis Epalanga), an MPLA-PT supporter, was also executed because he belonged to the Umbundu tribe.

Meanwhile, people are experiencing increasing hardship in the city of Saurimo because of the local economic crisis. The people's possessions are constantly plundered by FAPLA and Riot Police soldiers. The crime rate has risen considerably in Saurimo, causing countless civilian victims.

Daily FAPLA Desertions Put at 30

MB0102152393 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] The number of government troops deserting has increased considerably on the combat fronts. According to a source in the area, 21 People's Armed Forces for the

Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] soldiers abandoned their unit in Cunene Province in the past few hours. Those soldiers brought with them lethal equipment, such as a 60-mm mortar, two PKM submachine guns, and eight AK rifles. An average of 30 soldiers are deserting daily from FAPLA tactical groups.

In order to contain such high numbers of desertions, the Angolan Armed Forces chief of General Staff has ordered all government army units to execute deserters publicly.

Meanwhile, the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] have repelled yet another attempt by government forces to occupy (Cangueze) in Cunene Province's Longua District. That two-hour attack occurred last week. The government forces suffered great human and material losses.

A source in the FALA chief of General Staff's Office has reported that FAPLA forces looted civilian villages in their hasty flight. They massacred men, women, and children.

Riot Police Accused of 'Genocide' in Lunda Sul

MB0102151993 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] Men in the Futungo de Belas Palace are still carrying out tribal genocide by killing peaceful civilians in Lunda Sul Province. More than 200 corpses were found floating on the (Lumbe) River on 25 January. Those people were murdered by the Riot Police [Policia Anti-motim].

UNITA Reportedly Abducts 15 Oil Workers

MB0202092593 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0900 GMT 2 Feb 93

[Text] Men said to be National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] forces abducted 15 Cabinda Gulf Oil workers yesterday evening.

A military source has told Portugal's LUSA news agency that some 10 men wearing Angolan Government Army uniforms had ambushed three Cabinda Gulf Oil vehicles in the area of Caio and abducted those workers. Those abductions prevented the night shift staff arriving for work.

*** Truckers: Highway Leading to Benguela 'Safe'**

93AF0306D Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 17 Dec 92 p 3

[Article by Joao Francisco]

[Text] Benguela—The first signs that Benguela Province is really on the road to almost complete calm following last November's armed clashes between the police and the military wing of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], i.e., the FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola], can be found on the highways.

Several truck drivers have arrived in this city via the stretch of highway that runs from Luanda to Sumbe to Benguela,

even going through Canjala (a commune in the municipality of Lobito). They drove at night, something that has rarely been done in recent days, when even in broad daylight it was extremely dangerous to travel that road.

For example, reports were constantly being received from Canjala, telling of the sacking of trucks and the deaths of innocent citizens. That gloomy prospect has gradually waned. We need only point out that recently, about 18 trucks from the World Food Program [WFP] made the trip (Luanda-Benguela) at night without any trouble whatsoever.

A young truck driver who accompanied the convoy emphasized that the trips took place under perfect conditions, despite the presence along the highway of many FALA troops.

"We talked to the FALA men near Canjala and they told us that the military situation was under control owing to the good relationships that have been maintained with the national police," he said.

On the other hand, he expressed dismay about the arbitrary actions of some members of the police force, who regularly make unfair demands so that they can then levy fines of 30,000 to 40,000 new kwanzas.

The WFP drivers—he continued—have always tried to maintain their trucks in good mechanical and operational condition. Due to the worsening of the political and military situation, many people have been assisted in transporting their possessions to areas where they feel they will be safe. However, some policemen, designated to conduct "Operation STOP," [preceding word in English] met us with improper arguments in order to take advantage of that.

The opinion of this truck driver was also shared by the boss of the WFP trucks, Eusebio Cunha, who argued that the "peace convoys" must be allowed to move freely.

Cunha also said that about "411 tons of food products intended for the needy people of Benguela Province are now in the Port of Luanda." He felt it will be essential to involve private truck drivers in order to clear out such large quantities.

*** Police Concerned About Increasing Luanda Crime**

93AF0306E Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 15 Dec 92 p 1

[Text] Last week, the number of crimes reported in the city of Luanda averaged more than one an hour. According to the weekly report by the Police Provincial Command, 190 crimes of different types occurred between 7 and 13 December, which amounts to about 27 cases per day. This was an increase of 28 crimes compared with the previous week, when 162 cases were reported.

The most dangerous municipality in the capital, according to the Police, is Cazenga, where last week there were seven cases of voluntary manslaughter, in addition to nine of bodily harm, three robberies, and one armed assault. The

municipalities of Sambizanga, Maianga, and Ingombota followed, with four cases of voluntary manslaughter in the first of these, and three in the other two.

Because of the increase in the crime rate, the police have beefed up their activities in the neighborhoods, but they are having trouble doing their job because most of the criminals are armed, and are carrying firearms when they commit their crimes.

* Population Statistics, Geographical Distribution

93AF0306B Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 15 Dec 92 p 9

[Report by Manuel Nascimento]

[Excerpt] The Angolan population has grown this year and now stands at about 10,609,000, compared with 10,310,000 last year. According to the National Institute of Statistics, it is estimated that males make up 48.8 percent of the population, while females account for 51.2 percent.

By age group, the Angolan population was distributed this way last year:

Angola: 1991 Population by Age Bracket	
Age Bracket	Percentage of Total
14 and under	44.5
15-19	9.7
20-29	15.8
30-44	12.5
45-59	9.5
60 and above	8.0

The segment of the population over the age of 19 numbered 4,713,000 last year, equal to 45.7 percent of the total population of Angola.

Also in the period under discussion, the geographical distribution data showed that Luanda, with about 3 million, is still the most heavily populated province. [passage omitted]

* Bengo: Displaced Persons Situation Viewed

93AF0306C Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 16 Dec 92 p 8

[Text] The number of persons in Bengo Province who have been displaced by the atmosphere of instability currently prevailing in this country now stands at 32,000, of whom 22,600 are living in tents in the Cimangola refugee camp. The other 7,594 [figures as published] are staying with relatives. The contingent of displaced persons includes 11,000 children.

This finding was made during the visit, day before yesterday, by Minister of Assistance and Social Reincorporation Norberto dos Santos to the displaced of Bengo Province.

According to a MARS [Ministry of Assistance and Social Reincorporation] source, the visit "was extremely positive," and permitted the resolution, on site, of some of the problems being faced by those people. Norberto dos Santos visited the Bengo supplies warehouse, the field hospital set up for the displaced, and the refugee camp itself.

Difficulties

The problems the refugees face did not go unnoticed by the MARS minister. At the refugee camp he saw that about 1,000 people lack tents and that there are problems with the water supply.

The absence of water tanks and reservoirs, and the shortages of basic medicines and of containers to use for carrying water are parts of the overall problem. Completing the picture are the lack of corrugated metal sheets with which to build washrooms and latrines, and a shortage of blankets. Other, less severe problems include the difficulty of ensuring there are enough coffins to accommodate those who have died.

Given the present state of affairs, the minister of social assistance and reincorporation and his team met with the provincial governor after their visit. They suggested some "immediate" steps to correct the situation.

As a result, MARS was supposed to send, as early as yesterday, about 80 tents to house the refugees. During the week it was also decided that foodstuffs would be sent to replace the stocks [preceding word in English] at the warehouses.

As regards medicines, it was agreed that the problem would be discussed with the Red Cross of Angola.

According to our source, the delegation from MARS found that, in general, the situation with the displaced in Bengo is being "properly handled and supported" by the provincial commission and that, in general, the organization of the effort is "satisfactory."

Several NGO's [nongovernmental organization], and the UN, have sent help to overcome the difficulties faced by the displaced persons of Bengo.

The minister of assistance and social reincorporation was accompanied by Deputy Minister Albino Malungo and other staffers.

* Cambambe Hydroelectric Project Inspected

93AF0306A Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 11 Dec 92 p 3

[Article by Joao Francisco]

[Text] It almost goes without saying that the Cambambe hydroelectric complex, located in the municipality of the same name, is vital. We need only recall that it was the first project that SONEFE [National Company for Studying and Financing Overseas Projects], then the

concessionaire exploiting the Medio Kwanza, brought to fruition in 1957 when it built the dam there.

Hence the losses that could result from a total or partial paralysis of the power plant would be incalculable. The prospects for Angola's industrialization depend on continuous maintenance of the electric power distribution lines that serve the most diverse regions of the country from that starting point. This task has been made more difficult by the political-military instability that this country is experiencing, in varying degrees, almost everywhere.

According to Joao Eduardo Ferreirinha Borges, deputy director of the regional office of the Cambambe power plant, "Some projects the company has undertaken have been greatly affected by the widespread military conflicts in Kwanza-Norte. The main problem is associated with the restoration of the substation in the city of N'dalatando, which, as everyone knows, experienced a fire in 1981 and to this date has been functioning with only one output cell that simultaneously supplies Cazengo, Lucala, and Golungo Alto."

Likewise, the erecting of the utility poles that were to connect Capanga and Cambambe with each other, a project on which work had reached an advanced stage, had to be suspended because of the renewed outbreak of military activity in that area.

The Cambambe plant is using only three of its four generators. The other has been shut down for repairs. The plant's installed capacity is 4 x 75 megawatts. It produces electricity at 11 kilowatts, which is then boosted to 220 kilowatts at the Cambambe substation and distributed at that power level to N'dalatando, Viana, and Gabela.

At N'dalatando, Cacuso, and Malanje—which also have substations that are under the control of Cambambe—the electricity undergoes further transformation on the order of 10 to 30 kilowatts before being distributed to the towns, cities, and municipalities.

Power Outages

As regards the power outages that have occurred with a certain frequency on almost all lines, the official argued that this is due to the ongoing cleaning of the strips protecting the lines, as well as the repairs on line two, on which the work has also been suspended for the aforementioned reasons.

Ferreirinha Borges also said that "in N'dalatando (provincial seat of Kwanza-Norte, under UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] occupation) frequent power outages have occurred, but the actual causes have not been identified since the specialized personnel or the men who clear the underbrush and discover the causes in those areas have been unwilling to go there recently for security reasons."

Furthermore, the powerline to Calulo is out of service; the Cambambe regional director suggested that some cable must have fallen, or trees may be leaning on the powerlines.

Concerning the incident that left the entire municipality of Cambambe without electricity last weekend, the deputy director said "there was a short circuit that damaged the terminal boxes that supply the transformer poles. Because of the relationship between the energy distribution system and the water mains, the city and its suburbs were left without water and power last Friday night."

Restructuring

The Cambambe hydroelectric complex underwent a restructuring in light of the corporate downsizing in which, as Ferreirinha Borges said, "some firms in the electricity sector were incorporated into ENE, the National Electricity Company! SONEFE was not exempted from this process, and today it is the Office of the North and East System, of which Cambambe is a part, whose functional organizational chart allocates prominent positions to the director and deputy and the maintenance, operation, and services departments." He added that "at this time, when some additional programs are being implemented, the Office of the North and East System has 235 workers. There are three senior technicians and 12 middle-level technicians; the rest are junior technicians and unskilled people. The three foreign civilians, two Russians and a Portuguese, who run the maintenance department have been evacuated to their native countries for reasons of security."

Support

The headquarters in Luanda has always tried to overcome the problems or meet the needs of the Cambambe Hydroelectric Complex. In fact, the people here depend on Luanda, which is the source of the principal recommendations, material assistance, and food. For example, they have already informed headquarters that their most acute need is for transportation, mainly a bus for transporting personnel. Otherwise, they have been given every possible assistance.

Social Conditions

Ferreirinha Borges admitted that living conditions and social benefits for Cambambe's workers really are a bit precarious. The dining halls have trouble preparing meals for employees on a regular basis because of food shortages. The social center at the company is also struggling with various kinds of problems and is now functioning with an Emergency Committee. Before long, a board of directors will be set up so that it can resume all its activities.

The Cambambe Hydroelectric facility also has an elementary and middle school. Most of the teachers live on the grounds, but some live in Dondo. The regional office of Cambambe provides transportation assistance (for those who live in Dondo), lodging, and meals. All spend a week at the complex, returning home only on the weekends, since the complex maintains an inn for this purpose.

Malawi**Banda Says Citizens Want MCP To Remain in Power***MB3001105893 Blantyre Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 29 Jan 93*

[Text] His Excellency the life president, Ngwazi [Paramount] Dr. Kamuzu Banda, has said he was happy that despite calls for a multiparty system of government, the majority of the people in the country are behind him and the Malawi Congress Party [MCP]. The life president was speaking on departure from Blantyre and on arrival in Karonga at the start of his tour of the northern region.

The life president said he had called for a national referendum on the 15th of March this year to challenge advocates of the multiparty system of government. He said the multiparty advocates have been claiming to have a large following in the country. The life president said to answer them effectively, he called for the referendum to challenge them at the ballot box.

His Excellency the life president said he was sure that the people of this country want the Malawi Congress Party to continue to rule, no matter what the multiparty advocates (?say). He said those who are advocating a multiparty system are defeating themselves [words indistinct] Malawi Congress Party. He said all [words indistinct] 15th March during the referendum.

The life president also spoke on the development that has taken place in the country since independence. He recalled that before independence, Malawi was classified as one of the poorest countries, but he added that the country was merely (?ignored) by the colonial rulers just because it had no minerals. The Ngwazi said [words indistinct] he appealed to his people to work hard in the fields and [words indistinct]. He said he was happy that the people heeded his appeal and the result is [words indistinct] activities in the country. The life president said [words indistinct] under the Malawi Congress Party [words indistinct] he was sure that the people of this country want the party to continue to rule, no matter what others say. The life president has since arrived in Mzuzu.

MCP Condemns 'Violence' by Multiparty Supporters*MB0202090793 Blantyre Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 1 Feb 93*

[Text] The Malawi Congress Party [MCP] has again warned multiparty advocates against [word indistinct] harassment and the shouting of insults at Malawi Congress Party public meetings.

The spokesman for the MCP in Lilongwe said Lilongwe District Aford [Alliance for Democracy] members yesterday (?harassed) members of the MCP at their meeting at (Joware) township by throwing stones and making a lot of (?distracting) noises at a meeting which was addressed by the regional chairman for the center. The spokesman said a few days ago there was unprovoked violence in Kasongo, which resulted in injuries to MCP

supporters and at which the Malawi Police Mobile Force intervened to protect MCP members.

The spokesman said the party condemns this violence and indiscipline by the multiparty advocates and wishes to reiterate its earlier warning to them to stop immediately harassment and stone throwing at MCP public meetings. He called on leaders of the pressure groups to control their supporters.

The spokesman said MCP is not responding to these acts of violence in the interest of peace and calm, because it is committed to a peaceful referendum in obedience to the life president's call.

Church Leaders Urge Freeing Political Prisoners*MB3001190893 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1600 GMT 30 Jan 93*

[Text] Church leaders from eastern and southern Africa, have called on the Government of Malawi to stop alleged political persecutions. The call was made by more than 20 leaders of the Fellowship of Councils of Churches in Eastern and Southern Africa. The church leaders said in a statement they fear that unless the Malawi authorities handle the situation in the country with restraint, it could deteriorate into violence. The church leaders called on the Malawian Government to release all political prisoners and to allow free political activity.

Opposition sources say the Government of Malawi has detained dozens of opponents in recent days, including two priests.

Mozambique**Chissano Congratulates Clinton, Praises U.S. Role***MB2901184493 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 29 Jan 93*

[Text] In a message congratulating Bill Clinton on being sworn in as U.S. President, President Joaquim Chissano praised the contribution the United States has made toward the Mozambican peace process, as well as its continuing aid to reducing the joint negative effects of war and drought.

President Chissano noted that a massive reconstruction task awaits the country now that the war is over, and he added Mozambique would like to be able to count on U.S. support. President Joaquim Chissano also said that Bill Clinton's presidency will do much for closer bilateral friendship and cooperation ties.

Frelimo Activists Reportedly Banned From Renamo Areas*MB2901184793 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 29 Jan 93*

[Text] Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] Party militants have been denied access to Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo]-controlled areas to carry

out their political work in Sofala Province and in other parts of the country. Manuel Tome, Frelimo Party Central Committee secretary for mobilization and propaganda, commented on the situation when he addressed the third session of the Frelimo Committee for Sofala Province, which opened in Beira today:

[Begin Tome recording] Yet, Renamo can come to the city of Beira to do its political work. In fact, it is doing its political work in the city of Beira, as well as in other parts of the country. Renamo is neither threatened nor gagged. The same thing is not happening the other way. Frelimo cannot do its work in Gorongosa. Frelimo cannot do its work in Maringue. In order to visit certain areas, Frelimo officials must leave the city of Beira with a safe passage document signed by the Renamo delegate. On arrival in certain areas, they have to [words indistinct] Renamo. Thus, we must remain attentive to these problems. We must work to ensure that all citizens can enjoy their right to free movement. [end recording]

Renamo Urges Frelimo To Release Political Prisoners

MB3001171093 (Clandestine) Voz da Renamo in Portuguese 0500 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Station commentary: "Frelimo Is Prolonging the Release of Political Prisoners"]

[Text] As is generally known, during the liberation struggle waged by the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] arrested many Mozambicans opposed to its rule. Renamo supporters are still languishing in Frelimo jails [words indistinct] in Maputo, Beira, Chimoio, and in other parts of the country.

Renamo demands the unconditional release of all political prisoners. Renamo has fought for democracy, freedom, justice, and respect for human rights. Those who have been arrested in violation of their rights should be released because democracy has come to Mozambique. The Frelimo government signed a peace accord with Renamo, a document which provides for democracy in Mozambique. So, there is no reason for people to remain in detention.

Renamo would like to appeal to the Frelimo government to release the political prisoners as they may be running out of patience. The release of prisoners would be advantageous to the Frelimo regime because it needs to prove that it is no longer Marxist. It is not enough to claim good intentions. Frelimo ought to suit actions to words, by releasing the political prisoners.

Zambia

Finance Minister Presents Budget to Parliament

MB3001155693 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] The minister of finance, Mr. Emmanuel Kasonde, has announced far-reaching measures aimed at reducing the

tax burden this year. Presenting the 1993 budget to Parliament this afternoon, Mr. Kasonde said the cut in taxes was intended to help workers and businesses to contribute to the revival of the economy. He said individual tax [word indistinct] will be raised to 45,000 kwacha, meaning workers earning up to 300,000 kwacha annually will not pay any tax at all. Mr. Kasonde said the government proposed to reduce the tax burden by broadening the tax base. Mr. Kasonde noted that the changes contained in the budget will help raise the net take home pay for workers.

Mr. Kasonde has, meanwhile, announced that government proposes to treble the [words indistinct] deductions to 36,000 to enable workers to save more money out of their income for retirement. In his budget address to Parliament this afternoon, Mr. Kasonde said the government will increase tax relief for handicapped persons by replacing the 1,200 kwacha allowance with the 1,200 kwacha credit in addition to the basic credit of 45,000 kwacha. He added that the government will also increase the [words indistinct] companies tax deduction for employing handicapped persons from the present 1,000 kwacha to 120,000 kwacha per annum. Mr. Kasonde pointed out that changes in income tax will reduce revenue by 16 billion kwacha. He, however, stated that government expected workers to exercise wage restraint that is so fundamental for success of the country's economic recovery program.

And Mr. Kasonde has disclosed that the government has increased excise duty on wines and imported spirits from the present 25 percent to 100 percent. Mr. Kasonde told Parliament that the excise duty which was to apply in addition to sales tax, would be extended to include alcohol and tobacco. He also disclosed that government intends to reduce the excise duty on sugar to 10 percent, while the commodity will also be charged sales tax like any other goods. The minister said the measures announced take effect at midnight tonight.

The government is to spend an estimated 231.9 billion kwacha in this year's budget compared to last year's estimated 90 billion kwacha. Presenting the budget to Parliament this afternoon, Finance Minister Mr. Kasonde said 197.1 billion of the amount will be non-drought expenditure, while 34.8 billion kwacha will be drought related. He said out of the non-drought expenditure, 63.2 billion kwacha was capital while the balance was the current expenditure. Mr. Kasonde said the expenditure would be funded by revenues amounting to 231.9 billion kwacha of which 19 billion kwacha is from the sale of donated maize and 204.1 billion kwacha is from other domestic sources.

The government will reduce the [words indistinct] tax from the present 40 percent to 35 percent in a move aimed at ensuring that companies do not overcharge. The minister of finance, Mr. Kasonde, said in Lusaka today that companies had a crucial role to play in creating jobs, expanding investments, and stimulating productive activity. Mr. Kasonde [words indistinct] traditional exporters, company tax will remain at 15 percent.

Chiluba: Government Determined To Meet Budget
MB0102203893 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] President Chiluba has said government is determined to fulfill this year's national budget demands, which include avoiding the over-printing of money. Mr. Chiluba called on Zambians to employ restraint when asking for wage increases, as inflation will only be kept at bay if money in the economy was backed by production of goods and services. The president was speaking at State House today when he received the new kwacha notes from the Bank of Zambia Governor Daniel Mulaisho. He said the new notes of 500 kwacha and 100 kwacha which went into circulation today would not do anything to change the Zambian economy, adding it is increased production that would boost the kwacha's value.

Earlier Bank Governor Mulaisho said the cost of designing and printing the new money [which] cost about 4 million pounds had been necessitated because the president's picture should no longer be on notes and coins.

MMD Candidates Win in Parliamentary By-Elections
MB3101162393 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] The ruling MMD [Movement for Multiparty Democracy] has scooped both the Kafue and Lufunsa Parliamentary seats in by-elections characterized by apathy. MMD's candidate in Lufunsa, Lieutenant General Scolastica Ngoma, pooled 753 to narrowly beat the UNIP [United National Independence Party] rival, Jessie Lungu, who got 635 votes, while 73 votes were rejected.

In Kafue the candidate for the ruling party, Dr. Yusuff Batat, won by 3,183, while the closest rival candidate, Mr. (Chao Ufrasia Phiri) of UNIP, received 1,581. Congress for National Unity candidate Dennis Kambwa only got 210 with National Conservative Party's Peter

Chinkamba, and independent (Holister Bulala) getting away with 36 and 19 votes, respectively.

Zimbabwe

Inflation Reportedly Hits 48 Percent in Dec

MB0102202393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1301 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] Harare Feb 1 SAPA—Zimbabwe's inflation rate soared to 48 per cent in December last year and there is little hope of the rate of price increases slowing soon.

In its January edition of BUSINESS UPDATE, Standard Chartered Bank's calculation of the country's inflation rate flies in the face of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe's assertion it had dropped to 25 per cent.

The commercial bank said higher rents, electricity charges and some fresh-food prices were the main factors fuelling the inflationary spiral.

Standard said the likely devaluation of the Zimbabwe dollar, the deteriorating fiscal deficit and public sector deficit would lead to further inflationary pressures.

The bank urged against any relaxation of the central bank's tight monetary policy to stave off escalating price increases, ZIANA news agency reports.

Standard further pointed out the widening gap between lower and higher income group inflation, saying it was "alarming".

The low income group index was pushed up by 9.4 per cent in one month—an annualised rate in excess of 110 per cent—to a peak of 59.5 per cent.

The gap widened from only one per cent in 1991 to nine per cent in the first quarter of 1992 to almost 17 per cent in the final quarter of 1992.

Benin

Government Expresses Readiness To Mediate in Togo

AB0102140093 Dakar PANA in English 1317 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] Cotonou, 1 Feb. (ABP-BEN/PANA)—Benin has appealed to politicians in neighbouring Togo to resume dialogue to end the mounting violence within their country.

In a statement issued Sunday [31 January], the Benin Government said it deplored the upsurge of events in Togo such as Saturday's [30 January] retaliation by the Army against civilians, following the killing of several gendarmes and soldiers.

Reliable sources have said that several thousand Togolese nationals have arrived in Cotonou from Lome, where they escaped from looting and violence perpetrated by soldiers in certain parts of their capital. Five people were killed and 14 others injured in the violence, according to official figures.

The sources said that the refugee flow could be higher in Benin's border with Togo.

In the statement, the Government of Benin said it was ready to mediate in bringing about national reconciliation in Togo.

Benin is the current chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which has already initiated moves to find a peaceful and long-lasting solution to the crisis in Togo.

Burkina Faso

Compaore, UN Special Envoy Discuss Liberian Conflict

AB0102215093 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] President Blaise Compaore today received Trevor Gordon-Somers, the UN general secretary's special envoy for Liberia, after being called upon by some trade union representatives. Mr. Gordon-Somers went to discuss the Liberian conflict with the Burkinabe leader. After the meeting, the envoy had this to tell the press:

[Begin recording] [Gordon-Somers] The purpose of my visit was to discuss the Liberian conflict. You know that your president plays an important role in this conflict, mainly in finding a solution to it. It was necessary for me to come to Burkina Faso for his views and observations, namely how to succeed in resolving this problem. Concrete proposals are always (?needed), and President Compaore exercises great influence on Mr. Taylor. This will help us arrive at a solution to this painful conflict.

[Unidentified reporter] After your discussions with President Compaore, can one expect a meeting with Mr. Taylor?

[Gordon-Somers] Yes, of course. I received precise instructions from the secretary general to continue my contacts and discussions with all the sides involved in the conflict. [end recording]

Ghana

Rawlings Receives Malian Envoy, Message From Konare

AB0102220593 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] President Jerry John Rawlings today received a special message from the Malian leader, President Alpha Oumar Konare, at The Castle, Osu. The message was delivered by an envoy of the president, Madame Keita Rokaitou Ndiaye. The contents of the message were not disclosed, but sources say President Rawlings held discussions with Madame Ndiaye on bilateral and international issues, especially on political developments in the West African subregion.

Present at the meeting was the acting minister of foreign affairs, Dr. Obed Asamoah.

Influx of Togolese Refugees Effects Aflao Area

AB0102150593 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in English 1300 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Excerpts] Ghana has expressed concern about the deteriorating political and security situation in Togo. In a statement in Accra last night, the government said it would continue to consult with other international partners to bring pressure to bear on the Togolese authorities to stop the violence and initiate measures that will give effect to the sovereign will of the Togolese people. Kumasi Dra looks at latest developments that have prompted Ghana's concern.

[Dra] Togo's transitional process to multiparty form of government has taken a violent turn. Since, Togo's interim Parliament, the High Council of the Republic, kicked against President Eyadema's reappointment of Mr. Joseph Koffigoh on 20th of last month, tension has been building up. [passage omitted]

At the weekend, thousands of frightened civilians fled Lome for Ghana and Benin after troops avenging murdered colleagues, killed at least five people and then went on a looting spree. Although, Eyadema ordered the troops back to barracks, he justified his men's action when he said they were avenging comrades (?burned) or (?stabbed) to death by opposition militias. Among those shot dead by the Togolese security forces were two Ghanaians identified as Yaw Adoo and Stephen Adoo. Another Ghanaian, Mr. De Graft-Larbi was seriously wounded in the left leg.

The growing tension in the strike-paralyzed Togolese capital has forced many residents to flee. Thousands are crossing the Aflao border to Ghana. The pressure of the influence [as heard] of the refugees is having severe pressure on goods and services in the Aflao area. Food prices have shot up by over 100 percent, fares between Aflao and Accra have also gone up. Stranded refugees are reported to be sleeping in the open at Aflao. [passage omitted]

FARIGHAN Member, 'Most Wanted Man' Interviewed
AB2801184193 Accra THE GHANAIAN VOICE in English 25-28 Jan pp 1, 2, 4

[Article by special correspondent: "Ghana's Most Wanted Man Talks to THE VOICE"]

[Text] After three weeks of an intensive and extensive search for the most wanted man in Ghana today, THE GHANAIAN VOICE special correspondent traced Alhaji T.B. Damba, the man alleged to be the brain behind the recent bomb explosives in Accra, to his operational base in Lome.

The well-built and bearded, Alhaji Damba looked quite relaxed and in an uncharacteristic soft voice, he told our correspondent that FARIGHAN [Forces Against Rawlings in Ghana] is determined to remove President Rawlings from power.

For the first time, Alhaji Damba also admitted that he is a member of FARIGHAN, an exiled group which claimed responsibility for the bomb outrages in Accra and Tema after the November 3 presidential elections.

We are publishing extracts of the interview which dealt with Alhaji Damba's background, his political affiliation, links with the erstwhile PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council] and views on the opposition political parties for the benefit of our readers:

[Reporter] What is your background like?

[Damba] I started organising the youth of northern Ghana in 1966 immediately after the overthrow of Dr. Nkrumah. I was at the Kwame Nkrumah Training School when the CPP [Convention People's Party] was overthrown. I was studying electrical engineering (general and auto).

Before I got into the school, I had already undergone para-military training at the Para-Military Training School at Omonkope in the Greater Accra Region and the Gliding School at Afienuya. In addition to my studies at the Kwame Nkrumah Training School at Okponglo, I studied special ideological courses in scientific socialism and Nkrumaism. I was also attached to the Swedru Commercial Secondary School, formerly known as Speed Writing.

[Reporter] How did you start your organisational work in the North?

[Damba] I started organising the youth in the North under the name of Amasachina Youth Association. We used drums as instruments to call the people for selfhelp projects. In view of the successes achieved, the organisation was changed to Amasachina Self-Help Association. We introduced the first, Northern Region Modern Musical Band to promote the northern culture. It was called the Amasachina Cultural Band.

[Reporter] What is your reaction to the allegations that you were linked with the PNDC?

[Damba] Well, the PNDC knew that I was quite popular in the North and on January 3, 1982 it asked me to go to the North to explain the aims and objectives of the Revolution to my people.

I was appointed the first PNDC coordinator for the Northern Region on February 10, 1982. I was in Tamale with the late Corporal Carlos Gyiwa.

[Reporter] Do you still maintain your links with the PNDC?

[Damba] No. I started withdrawing from the PNDC, when I realised that the late Major Nantagmah, who came from my home town, Bimbilla was killed on tribal grounds. Many such killings followed.

I withdrew totally from the PNDC and stayed in the Northern Region to organise my people in co-operative farming groups.

[Reporter] Why were you arrested and detained in the mid-1980's

[Damba] All this time, the PNDC was chasing me. They finally got me and put me into prison without trial for two years. The PNDC executed all the people who were arrested with me. They included Major Twumasi Antoh, Major Ocran, Sergeant Issaka and a civilian Saibu Baba. The PNDC tried to implicate me in a coup attempt because they needed my blood but they did not succeed. They continued trailing me until I left the country. I first landed in Lome and then moved on to Ivory Coast, Liberia, Germany, Australia and finally Nigeria.

[Reporter] What have you been doing in exile?

[Damba] We formed the Ghana Democratic Union to fight dictatorship in Ghana. I was made the President and Dr Eduku Quarfo was made the Chairman. We were mainly organising Ghanaians outside the country to help remove the dictatorship from power.

[Reporter] Are you connected to FARIGHAN?

[Damba] A group of exiled Ghanaians who also came out to form the FARIGHAN notified us for membership, and since they were also fighting against injustice and dictatorship in Ghana, we then gave them our support and shall continue supporting them until Rawlings is removed from power.

[Reporter] What is your reaction to the decision of the four main opposition parties to tolerate the Rawlings administration?

[Damba] FARIGHAN does not support the idea of the four political parties and therefore will not on any occasion recognise the Fourth Republic. Our aim is to overthrow that Government and we will continue until they are no more. We shall only be interested in only genuine democracy. The November 3 elections were rigged and therefore we stand on our word to correct the system.

[Reporter] Are you getting any assistance from the Togolese Government?

[Damba] No, but we don't approve of what the PNDC is doing in Togo. They are providing facilities to the Togolese opposition to use against General Eyadema. The rebel radio station for example is based in Ghana and the transmission equipment was supplied by the dictatorship in Ghana. We feel that the Togolese must be left alone to decide on their own future and to choose their own government. Thank you very much.

Liberia

Sawyer Delivers Annual Message to Legislative Assembly

AB0202123493 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 2 Feb 93

[Text] A call has been made for increased pressure on the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, the NPFL, to force it to comply with the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] peace plan on Liberia. According to interim president, Dr. Amos Sawyer, sustained military defensive pressure as well as diplomatic and economic pressure must be mounted on Mr. Charles Taylor and his cohorts until they are convinced that military victory on their part cannot be achieved and that political settlement through disarmament and elections are the only appropriate solutions to the national problem.

In his annual message to the ILA [Interim Legislative Assembly] yesterday, the president spoke of the need to continue speaking of solutions to Liberia's problems through free and fair elections, but stressed that military pressures must not be relaxed until total disarmament is complete. He emphasized the need to apply pressure until Mr. Taylor and his men find war unprofitable.

Meanwhile, Dr. Sawyer has stressed that the Interim Government of National Unity [IGNU] will not enter into any negotiations with the National Patriotic Front of Mr. Charles Taylor as long as the NPFL refuses to implement the Yamoussoukro IV Peace Accord and its Geneva clarifications. Mr. Sawyer noted that these measures must remain in force until the Front disarms and encamps its fighters.

[Words indistinct] Dr. Sawyer observed that he war is far from finished and all must be done to stop the NPFL. Taylor and his [word indistinct] must be convinced that peace cannot come to Liberia through war, adding that dialogue buttressed by pressure must be pursued [word indistinct]. According to the Liberian chief executive, disarmament and elections remain the only peaceful way out of the Liberian stalemate.

The president then welcomed the representative of the United Nations, which he said, supports and reinforces the efforts of ECOWAS in the search for a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict. He thanked the United Nations Secretary General Dr. Butrus Butrus-Ghali for passing Resolution 788 on the Liberian situation and for sending his special envoy to Liberia to assess developments on the ground. Dr. Sawyer also thanked the United States and all friendly governments who have provided and continued to give assistance to the Liberian people during this crisis period as well as for their support for the peace process. He hailed the leaders of ECOWAS and those countries contributing troops to ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group].

It has been disclosed that the NPFL leader, Charles Taylor, and his men are scouting Europe and other countries in search of opportunities to purchase more arms to ensure military victory for his Front. On Mr. Taylor's shopping list are, antiaircraft equipment, multiple rocket launchers, radar facilities, and an assortment of assault and [word indistinct] weapons.

Interim President Amos Sawyer made the disclosure yesterday at the ILA when he delivered his annual message. Mr. Sawyer observed that Mr. Taylor is still determined to take over the leadership of Liberia by force and is still raiding villages and forcibly recruiting children, women, and old people to fight his war on ECOMOG and the Liberian people.

To date, Taylor is said to be in the process of recruiting over 15,000 fighters from among the destitute in neighboring countries. Therefore, President Sawyer is calling on all Liberians to continue to insist that the claim to leadership in this country rests in the electoral process and must never be taken by force. He also called on the government to continue to take measures to discourage Taylor and any other persons from pursuing power by force.

The Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia has set up a committee to hold consultations with the ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia] leadership as it has done with the NPFL and the INPFL [Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia] to enhance the Liberian peace process. In his annual message, Dr. Amos Sawyer said the leadership of ULIMO had made it clear to the IGNU of its readiness to comply with the disarmament and encampment process.

Interim president, Dr. Amos Sawyer says the IGNU remains committed to all of its peace proposals including

a new interim administration. He was speaking in Monrovia when he delivered his annual message to the Interim Legislative Assembly. According to the president, upon the completion of the disarming of forces, a national conference should be held to discuss all important issues on pushing the peace process forward including modalities for elections, a strategy for reconciliation, and the formation of a new national transitional administration. Such an administration will comprise all warring factions including the NPFL and ULIMO, political parties, interest groups, and the broadest spectrum of the Liberian mosaic. IGNU believes that the resulting national transition administration should have jurisdiction throughout the country and have a limited mandate including the restoration of order in cooperation with ECOMOG and conduct of internationally supervised elections in the shortest possible time.

Liberians are being urged to stop identifying scapegoats as the source of the Liberian problem henceforth since this can only widen the crisis and [words indistinct] solution to the problem. Interim President Amos Sawyer told Liberians to stop pointing fingers and that there is no room for witch-hunting. President Sawyer was speaking when he delivered his annual message to the ILA. The president pointed out that Liberians are one people, in one country, with one future; and since they are destined to live together, must hold together. He emphasized that Liberians must do away with the victimization of any group for alleged wrongdoing. There is no room, the Liberian leader noted, for tribal retaliation. Dr. Sawyer said as Liberians, we must move ahead as one people to build a better future.

The Interim Government of National Unity is to shortly launch an economic recovery program intended to improve the Liberian economy which was shattered as a result of the civil conflict. Included in the economic recovery program, will be a monetary reform program geared towards strengthening the value of the Liberian dollar. Delivering his annual message yesterday, Interim President Amos Sawyer said, the program when instituted will be implemented by the national bank. The currency reform program is also included in the monetary reform package, which will establish a bank to bank market system with the aim of stabilizing the value of the Liberian currency.

NPFL Captives Return to Monrovia From Harbel

AB0202105893 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Some Liberians held captive by the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] led by Mr. Charles Taylor, have begun returning to Monrovia after being evacuated by ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] forces from Harbel. The returnees began streaming into Monrovia since two days ago [27 January]. Many of them

said they were abducted in October by NPFL fighters from the Gardnersville area and taken by force to NPFL-held areas.

Citizens returning from the NPFL-held territory have, meanwhile, praised the West African peace monitoring group, ECOMOG, for the professional manner in which ECOMOG evacuated them from (?Small Notis) in Harbel, lower Margibi County. Speaking to ELBS news yesterday [28 January] upon their return to Monrovia, the citizens said that contrary to reports on NPFL radio that people abducted from Monrovia were placed in centers and properly cared for, they were left on their own. Most of them were made to walk several hundreds of miles, while their belongings were taken away.

The citizens were abducted recently while NPFL launched its unprovoked attack on Monrovia in its bid to install Charles Taylor as president by force of arms.

Niger

Premier Cheiffou Reshuffles Cabinet 31 Jan

AB0202105493 Paris AFP in French 2228 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Niamey, 31 Jan (AFP)—Amadou Cheiffou, Niger's transitional prime minister, announced a Cabinet reshuffle in Niamey on 31 January. In that reshuffle, a Ministry of State in Charge of the Tuareg Rebellion, which has been raging in the north of the country for more than one year now, was established.

In a radio and television message, Amadou Cheiffou stressed that the two "major constraints" facing his country were "insecurity and social tension," which may "seriously" disturb the holding of the forthcoming legislative and presidential elections.

This Cabinet reshuffle comes on the eve of the launching of the legislative election campaign slated for 14 February and during which some government officials will stand as candidates. The minister in charge of the rebellion and reconciliation is Albert Wright, the current government spokesman. Mohamed Moussa, a Tuareg, and former minister of commerce, transport, and tourism, is actually under detention and has been replaced at this post by Salifou Adamou, a former secretary of state for commerce.

The new government has 16 ministers and three secretaries of state, as against 16 ministers and eight secretaries of state in the previous government.

The Ministry of Culture, Communications, Youth, and Sports, has been given to Idi Gado, while the Ministries of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry and that of Water Resources and Environment have been merged into a new Ministry of Rural Development and Environment which goes to Hassane Abdou.

Movement Seeks Justice for Peuls, Threatens Violence

AB0102184093 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 1230 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] On the political scene, Niger Prime Minister Amadou Cheiffou's circle of opponents has recently grown wider with the formation of the Niger National Front a few days ago. The movement is calling for greater justice for Peul nomads in Niger who feel increasingly left out of Niger society. Leaders of this movement are currently on a West African tour. Thus, after visiting Ouagadougou, and Dakar, the general secretary of this movement, Salifou Sadikou, is now in Nouakchott at the moment. He explains to Salem Mej Bour Salem why this movement was formed.

[Begin recording] [Sadikou] In view of the isolation of certain minority groups in Niger, and the persecution, and arbitrary actions perpetrated against them, Niger Peuls have decided to come together to form the Niger National Front [FNN]. The FNN denounces: government passivity in the light of the Army's barbaric acts in the nomadic zones; the massacre of 50 people—elderly Peuls, women, and children—burned alive in (?Poulo); the persecution that Peuls of (?Goroul) have been subjected to; the divisive policy, whereby certain communities are armed against other civilian populations; and the arbitrary arrests of a section of the civilian population whose only crime is that they are Tuaregs.

The FNN pledges its unflinching support to the Front for the Liberation of Air and Azaouak and calls on (?Toubous), Tuaregs, and Peuls to unite their forces to have their rights respected. The FNN (?unanimously) calls for those responsible for the (?Poulo) massacre to be brought to justice immediately. It also calls for compensation for all the victims, and punishment for those responsible for the Tchén-Tabaradene massacre, in accordance with the instructions of the sovereign national conference; the immediate and unconditional release of all those deliberately arrested; and the withdrawal of the Army from all the nomadic zones. If the Niger Government continues to ignore our demands, the FNN will be forced to resort to armed conflict to have its rights respected.

[Salem] Do you have the resources to do so?

[Sadikou] Yes, we have the human and material resources. [end recording]

ADP Withdraws From 14 Feb Legislative Elections

AB0102183593 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 0545 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] The Alliance for Democracy and Progress [ADP] issued a communique yesterday announcing its withdrawal from the legislative election scheduled to take place on 14 February. It described certain measures taken recently by the transitional organs as anti-democratic. These measures include the extension of the transitional period.

Nigeria

ECOWAS Issues Statement on Airport Capture

AB2901145393 Dakar PANA in English 1004 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Lagos, 29 Jan. (NAN/PANA)—The ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] monitoring group, ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], Thursday [28 January] announced the capture of Liberia's only international airport, previously held by rebel forces of the National Patriotic Forces of Liberia (NPFL).

In a statement released by ECOWAS in Lagos, ECOMOG quoted ECOWAS executive secretary, Abass Bundu and the visiting ECOMOG field commander, Maj. Gen. Adetunji Olurin, as saying that Robertsfield International Airport was captured Wednesday [27 January].

Bundu described the capture as a very significant development which should have considerable impact on the future capability of the rebels forces led by Charles Taylor.

The airport had been under NPFL control since the Liberian war began almost three years ago and had been used by the rebels for the importation of arms and as a staging base for attacks on Monrovia.

Maj. Gen. Olurin is in Lagos for consultations on the Liberian peace operation.

Babangida Welcomes Africans in Liberian Operation

AB0102220093 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1800 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] Nigeria says ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] has no objection to other African countries contributing troops toward peacekeeping operation in Liberia. President Ibrahim Babangida told the OAU special envoy on Liberia, Professor Canaan Banana, that ECOWAS would welcome such a move if it would speed up the peace process. President Babangida restated that Mr. Charles Taylor was the only obstacle to the full implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord which had been endorsed by the international community for the resolution of the Liberian crisis. He noted that the appointment of a personality like Prof. Banana as the OAU special envoy in Liberia had inspired greater confidence and credibility in the ECOWAS peace plan for Liberia.

Responding, Prof. Banana, who was Zimbabwe's first post-independence president, said Africa was proud of the ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring

Group] initiative and the leadership role of President Babangida in finding a lasting solution to the Liberian conflict. He said he would visit many other countries in the subregion, as well as Liberia, to get a clear picture of the situation in the troubled country.

Togo

Presidency Criticizes Ghanaian 'Interference'

AB0102155593 Paris AFP in French 1424 GMT
1 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Lome, 1 Feb (AFP)—The office of the Togolese president today denounced the criticisms made by Ghanaian President Jerry Rawlings against his Togolese counterpart, General Gnassingbe Eyadema, as a "real provocation" and "unacceptable interference."

In a statement delivered to AFP, the Presidency described Flight Lieutenant Rawlings' decision to put his army on the alert because of recent disturbances in Togo as "warmongering" and "trouble-making." The statement accuses him of being "the cause" of the rapid deterioration of the situation in Togo and the "woes that have befallen the West African subregion." [passage omitted]

Minister Repeats Call for 'Dialogue,' 'Tolerance'

AB0102210593 Lome Radio Lome in French 1900
GMT 1 Feb 93

[Statement issued by Territorial Administration Minister Messan Agbeyome Kodjo in Lome on 1 February—read by announcer]

[Text] A general state of paranoia seems to be spreading in Lome since the unfortunate incidents in our capital on 30 January. This climate of fear has been heightened by certain organized groups in the country's interior and transmitted by certain foreign media propagating alarmist rumors that further acts of violence are in the offing. While strongly condemning all acts of violence over the past few days, the territorial administration and security minister repeats that only dialogue and tolerance can save us from these scenes of violence, which only complicate and delay our march toward building a nation where rule of law prevails. He shares the trauma and the fears caused by recent events and wishes to reassure Togolese and foreign nationals in our country that everything possible is being done to guarantee the security of the people and their goods. He extends his sincere condolences to the bereaved families and empathizes with all those who fell victim to the acts of violence. He invites traders whose goods were looted to draw up a complete inventory of the stolen goods and make a point of contacting the Lome Central Police Station or the national gendarmerie for the usual administrative formalities. Moreover, security forces have been able to arrest some of these burglars and their seized goods; nine vehicles, (?bales of wax prints), shoes,

clothing, household equipment, and other goods are now available at the national gendarmerie. Investigations are being conducted to arrest those involved in the violence and looting to bring them to justice. Finally, the minister calls on all those who for the aforementioned reasons wish to leave the country to refrain from doing so because there is hope yet. Things have settled down now, and we think the situation will last if we all contribute and show goodwill. We will work toward that.

[Signed] Territorial Administration Minister Messan Agbeyome Kodjo

Foreign Minister Rejects Foreign Army Intervention

LD0102205893 Paris Radio France International in
French 1830 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Interview with Togolese Foreign Minister Ouataro Fambare Natachaba by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from the "Afrique Soir" program—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [correspondent] [passage omitted] French and German ministers visited Togo recently and proposed a Strasbourg roundtable at which the opposition and the presidential regime could meet to reconcile the two parties and finally end the crisis. Do you favor such a proposal?

[Natachaba] President Eyadema is for anything which can restore peace in Togo, but (?as he stresses it should be) a real peace. If you remember, we previously negotiated the agreement which led to the national conference. [passage omitted]

If a third meeting can bring about peace, we are (?again studying that) and we will give our answer at the opportune moment.

[Correspondent] As foreign minister, what do you think of intervention, of certain opposition members calling in foreign armies to end the crisis?

[Natachaba] The matter is not about intervention by foreign armies. You are better placed than I to know that these armies have never solved anything. The Togolese people must talk to each other. I think that our (?friends)—like France, the United States, and Germany—who tell us that the Togolese lack dialogue, must talk to each other. Armies will not solve the problems for us. This is why I do not believe at all in intervention by foreign armies. Look what happened in Liberia: People went there and achieved nothing.

Party Urges Togolese Army To 'Crush' Intervention

AB0102205093 Lome Radio Lome in French 1900
GMT 2 Feb 93

[Statement issued by the Union for Renewal and Development Party (PURD) in Lome on 1 February]

[Text] It is with great indignation that the Union for Renewal and Development Party [PURD] heard on the airwaves of Radio France International at 1800 GMT on 31 January a statement made by Ghanaian President Rawlings to international press agencies in which he says that he has put his Army on full alert to intervene militarily in Togo in the case of fresh shootings, amounting to the overthrow of the Togolese president. The PURD takes the occasion of this new odious, provocative, and belligerent statement, following the one that succeeded his inauguration on 7 January, to make the following clarifications:

Togo is an independent and sovereign country like Ghana, but on no occasion has Togo interfered in Ghana's internal affairs. Even during Rawlings' two bloody coups d'etat—in which thousands of soldiers and civilians were savagely assassinated, not to mention former heads of state of Ghana—Togo received several thousands Ghanaian refugees: Soldiers deserting barracks, politicians, students, and people who feared fresh assassinations. Yet Togo never interfered in the internal affairs of this neighboring country to restore law and order. Our country often receives with the greatest hospitality Ghanaian refugees fleeing ethnic clashes, as well as Ghanaians expelled from other countries, without seeking to poke its nose into Ghana's affairs. Why and under what circumstances should Rawlings give himself the right to send his soldiers to our country? Yes, after his hideous crimes in Liberia it is now Togo's turn. Has he finished his dispute with the Ghanaian opposition, especially Professor Adu-Boahen, a potential candidate with democratic virtues, but who was robbed at the presidential elections and assigned to house arrest, with the sword of Damocles hanging over his life?

The statement goes on to say that the whole world knows that Flight Lieutenant Rawlings did not come to the head of his country through free and fair elections. So Ghana has not as yet crossed the rubicon and is still under the yoke of a single-party system and a dictatorship. As far as Togo is concerned, it is going to democratic and open elections to evolve into a multiparty system. It is only through elections that the fate of the

present Togolese head of state can be decided. No bloodthirsty person can influence or destabilize Togo.

From this new statement, the PURD calls on the Togolese Army to crush mercilessly, as it did in the past, any commando action or other foreign intervention. The PURD is ready to support any Ghanaian political party that aspires to democratic virtues so that after its coming into power Ghana finally can enjoy democratic and open elections.

Opposition Welcomes Proposed Strasbourg Talks

LD0202111393 Paris Radio France International in French 0630 GMT 2 Feb 93

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Another country in difficulty at the moment is Togo. [passage omitted]

The first reaction of the Togolese opposition seems to support the Franco-German proposal for an inter-Togolese conference, to be held next Friday in Strasbourg, the seat of the European Parliament. The opposition has long wanted the Togolese question to be internationalized. But for Edem Kodjo, an opposition spokesman, people must not expect everything from an external settlement of the crisis.

[Begin Kodjo recording] I am sure that the two forms of action should be carried out jointly: Actions outside, but also actions inside. We have not lost hope; we have to continue the struggle here. We know that to some extent we are acting in peril of our lives, but I think that the whole population of Togo could not and would not leave the country to go to another one. I think we have to organize ourselves in such a way as to face up to things and to bring democracy to this country. [end recording] [passage omitted]

It is reported that 12,000 refugees have arrived in Benin alone since Sunday, and long lines of cars and trucks loaded with furniture were waiting late yesterday afternoon to enter Beninese territory, where immigration formalities are reduced to a strict minimum. [passage omitted]

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